REMAINS
OF
Sir *Walter Raleigh*;

Viz.

Maxims of State.

Advice to his Son: his Sons advice to his Father.

His Sceptick.

Observations concerning the causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the *Hollander* and other Nations; Proving that our Sea & Land Commodities inrich and strengthen other Countreys against our own.

The Prerogative of Parliaments in *England*, proved in a Dialogue between a Councellour of State and a Justice of Peace.

His Letters to divers persons of quality.

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Iam Marti, Quam Mercurio.

The Hoble and learned Knight
S.r Walter Raleigh.
Ro: Vaughan sc.

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Maxims

MAXIMS OF *STATE.*

OF GOVERNMENT.

GOVERNMENT is of two sorts. 1. *Private* of himself. *Sobriety.* Of his Family, called *Oeconomy.*

2. *Publick* of the Common-wealth, called *Policy.* A man must first govern himself, ere he be fit to govern a Family; and his Family, ere he be fit to bear the Government in the Commonwealth.

Of Policy.

Policy is an Art of Government of a Commonwealth, and ſome part of it according to that State, or form of Government, wherein it is ſettled for the publick good.

State is the frame or ſet order of a Common-wealth, or of the Governours that rule the ſame, eſpecially of the chief and Sovereign Governour that commandeth the reſt.

The State or Sovereignty conſiſteth in five points.

1. Making or annulling of Laws.
2. Creating and diſpoſing of Magiſtrates.
3. Power over life and death.
4. Making of War, or Peace.
5. Higheſt or laſt appeal.

Where theſe five are, either in one or in more, there is the State.

Theſe five points of State reſt either in,

1. One *Monarchy*, or Kingdome.
2. Some few chief men for virtue and wiſdome, called an *Ariſtocracy*.
3. Many, called a *Free-State*, or *Popular State*.

Theſe three ſorts of Government have

have respect to the common good, and therefore are just and lawfull *States*.

These three degenerate into three other Governments; *viz.*

1. *Monarchie*,	into	1. *Tyrannie*.
		2. *Oligarchie*.
2. *Aristocracie*,		3. *Common-wealth*, or Government of all the common and baser sort, and therefore called a *Common-wealth* by an usurped *Nick-name*.
3. *Popular Estate*,		

These all respect their own, and not the publick good; and therefore are called Bastard *Governments*.

I.

Monarchie.

A *Monarchie*, or Kingdom, is the *Government* of a *State* by one Head, or Chief, tending to the common benefit of all.

Monarchie,

Monarchie, or *Kingdomes*, are of three ſorts touching the right or poſſeſſion of them; *viz.*

1. *Hereditarie*, by deſcent, as the *Engliſh*, *French*, &c.

2. *Elective*, by ſuffrage of the other *Orders*, or ſome of them, as the *Polonian*.

3. *Mixt*, or of both kinds, *viz.* by deſcent, yet not tyed to the next of blood, as the ancient *Iewiſh State*.

Monarchies are of two ſorts touching their power, or Authority, *viz.*

1. *Intire*. Where the whole power of ordering all *State* matters, both in peace and war, doth by law and cuſtom appertain to the Prince, as in the *Engliſh* Kingdome, where the Prince hath power to make Laws, League, and War; To create Magiſtrates; to pardon life: of Appeal, *&c.* Though to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a ſuffrage in making Laws, yet ever ſubject to the Princes pleaſure, nor Negative will.

2. *Limited* or *reſtrained*, that hath no full power in all the points or matters of State, as the Military King that hath not the Sovereigntie in time of peace, as the making of Laws, *&c.* But in Warre only, as the *Polonian* Kings.

II. *Ari-*

II.

Ariſtocracy, or Senatory State.

AN *Ariſtocracy* is the Government of a Common-wealth by ſome competent number of the better ſort, preferred for wiſdome and other virtues for the publick good.

Ariſtocracies are of three ſorts, *viz.* Where the *Senators* are choſen, for 1. *Virtue, Riches,* and the common good, as the *Venetian.*

2. *Virtue,* and the publick good, without reſpect of wealth, as ſometimes the *Roman,* when ſome of the *Senators* were fetched from the Plough, and ſome from the Schools.

3. *Virtue,* and wealth more reſpecting their private, than their publick good, which inclineth towards an *Oligarchy,* or the Government of the Richer or Nobler ſort, as in *Rome* towards the end.

III.

III.

Free State, or Popular State.

THe *Popular State* is the Government of a *State* by the choicer ſort of people, tending to the publick good of all ſorts, *viz.* with due reſpect of the Better, Nobler, and Richer ſort.

In every *Juſt State*, ſome part of the Government is, or ought to be imparted to the people; as in a Kingdome a voice or ſuffrage in making Laws; and ſometimes alſo, in levying of Armes (if the charge be great, and the Prince forced to borrow help of his Subjects) the matter rightly may be propounded to a Parliament, that the tax may ſeem to have proceeded from themſelves. So conſultations, and ſome proceedings in Iudiciall matters, may in part be referred to them. The reaſon, leaſt ſeeing themſelves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they miſlike the State, or kind of Government: And where the multitude is diſcontented, there muſt needs be many Enemies to the preſent *State*. For which cauſe, Tyrants, (which

(which allow the people, no manner of dealing in *State* matters) are forced to bereave them of their wits and weapons, and all other means whereby they may reſiſt, or amend themſelves, as in *Ruſſland*, *Turkey*, &c.

IV.
Tyranny.

A *Tyranny* is the ſwerving, or diſtorting of a *Monarchy*, or the *Government* of one, tending not to the publick good, but the private benefit of himſelf and his followers. As in the *Ruſſe* and *Turkiſh Government*, where the *State* and *Wealth* of other orders, are employed onely to the upholding of the greatneſſe of the King or Emperour. This is the worſt of all the Baſtard *States*, becauſe it is the perverting of the beſt Regiment, to wit, of a *Monarchy*, which reſembleth the Sovereign Government of God himſelf.

V.
Oligarchy, or the Government of a few.

AN *Oligarchy* is the ſwerving, or the corruption of an *Ariſtocracy*; or

or the *Government* of some few, that are of the Wealthier or Nobler sort, without any respect of the publick good. The chief end of these *Governours*, is, their own greatnesse and enriching. And therefore their manner is, to prepare fit means to uphold their Estates. This *State* is not wholly so bad, as is the *Tyranny*, and yet worse than the *Common-wealth*, because it respecteth the good of a few.

VI.

Common-wealth.

A *Common-wealth* is the swerving or depravation of a Free, or *Popular State*, or the Government of the whole multitude of the base and poorer sort, without respect of the other Orders.

These two *States*, to wit; The *Oligarchy*, and *Common-wealth*, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings between them. For that the Richer or Nobler sort, suppose a right or superiority to appertain unto them in every respect, because they are superiour, but in some respects onely. to wit, in Riches, Birth, Parentage, &c. On the other side, the *Common people* suppose, there ought to be an equality in

in all other things, and ſome *State matters*; becauſe they are equal with the Rich or Noble, touching their *Liberty*, whereas indeed neither theone nor the other are ſimply equal or ſuperiour, as touching *Government* and fitneſſe thereunto, becauſe they are ſuch, to wit, becauſe they are Rich, Noble, Free, *&c.* But becauſe they are *Wiſe*, *Vertuous*, *Valiant*, &c. and ſo have fit parts to *Govern a State.*

The ſeveral *States* are ſometimes mixed, and inter-wrought one with the other, yet ever ſo, as that the one hath the preheminent predomination over the other, as in the humours and complexions of the body. So in the *Roman State*, the people had their *Plebiſcita*, and gave the ſuffrage in the election of Magiſtrates: Yet the *Senate* (as the *State* ſtood) for the moſt part ſwayed the *State*, and bare the chief rule. So in the *Venetian State*, the Duke ſeemeth to repreſent a *Monarch*, and the *Senate* to be his Councel: Yet the *Duke* hath no power in *State matters*, but is like a head ſet on by art, that beareth no Brain. And ſo that *State* is *Senatorical* or *Ariſtocratical.*

Cauſes

Causes of States and Common-wealths in general.

Causes of *States*, or of *Common-wealths* are of 3. sorts, *viz.*

1. *Founding*, or settling a *State* where to be considered.
   - 1. *Measure.*
   - 2. *Parts*, and their *Qualities.*
2. *Preserving* a *State.*
3. *Changing* and *altering* a *State.*

Founding a State.

In *founding* a *State* are to be considered 2. things:

1. *Proportion.*
2. *Parts.*

Proportion is a just measure or *Mediocrity* of the *State*, whereby it is framed and kept in that Order, as that neither it exceed nor be defective in his kind, to wit, so that a Monarch be not too Monarchical, nor strict, or absolute, as the *Russe* Kings; nor *Aristocratical*, that is, over-mated or eclipsed by the Nobility, as the *Scottish* Kingdome, but ever respective to the other degrees. That *Aristocracy* be not too magnificent nor intire to it self, but com-

communicate with the people ſome commodities of *State* or *Government*, as the *Venetians* and ſometimes the *Romans* allowed the people to elect certain Magiſtrates out of themſelves, to have a Tribune, to make *Plebiſcita*, &c. So a *Free State* or *Common-wealth* that it be not over popular, *viz.* That it depreſs not too much the richer, wiſer, nor learneder ſort; but admit them to offices with a *Caution* out of the rules and myſteries of that *State*. That they ſeek no alteration of the preſent *State*. The reaſon, becauſe the *Moderate States* in their ſeveral kinds (as all other things that obſerve the mean) are beſt framed for their continuance, becauſe they give leſſe cauſe of grudge, envy, and affecting the *Wealth*, *Honour*, and Liberty, which they ſee in others that *govern* the *State*; and ſo are leſſe ſubject to ſtirs, and commotions, and eaſieſt kept in their preſent *State* wherein they are ſet.

Parts.

The parts of the State, or thoſe *Magiſtrates* that bear place or ſway in the publick *Government*.

Parts or *partakers* of *publick Government*, are

1. Com-

1. *Councel* or *Senate*, which conſulteth of all matters pertaining to Warre and Peace, Magiſtrates, &c. in admitting of whom there ought to be a more ſpecial care, that they may be men expert in *Matter of Policy*, becauſe it is their *Trade* and *Vocation*, as men uſe to chuſe Pilots, and Maſters of Ships, ſuch as know the Art of *Navigation*, and not Husband-men, &c. And ſo the contrary.

2. *Magiſtrates* and *Officers*, which are to be executioners of that which is conſulted, and found to be expedient for the *Common-wealth*, wherein are to be obſerved, the kinds of Magiſtrates, then they be ſuch as fit that kind of *Government*; The time of their continuance, and the manner of their election or appointing, by whom, out of whom, and in what manner they be choſen.

3. *Iudges*, To determine in *Civil*, and *Criminal matters*, where are to be obſerved, out of whom they are to be choſen; what kinds are neceſſary, and the manner of *Iudgement* and *Iudicial* proceeding.

In *Magiſtrates* are to be obſerved.

In

In *Magistrates* are to be observed.

1. *Kinds* of *Magistrates*, as,

1. *Civil.*

1. *Superiours* which are to be such and of that kind as agree with the *State*, as *Consuls* for a year, and not perpetuall *Dictatours in a Senatorie State*. *Prætors*, and *Censors*, that oversee manners & orders of the people.

For a Kingdom, *Lieutenant* of Shires, *Marshalls*, *Maslers of Horse*, *Admiralls*, &c.

Inferiours, as *Conservatours of Peace*, *Constables*, &c.

Overseers of youth, that take care for their educarion, for civil and warlike exercise.

Clarks of the Market that provide for the quantity, and price of victual.

Ediles for Buildings, Streets, Bounds.

Queſtours, or *Treaſurers*, to keep and diſpence the publick Treaſury.

Actuaries, or *Recorders*, which keep the publick *Record*.

Goalers to keep *priſons* and *Priſoners*.

2. *Eccleſiaſtical.* *Surveyors* of woods and fields, *&c.*

1. As *Biſhops* or *Paſtours*, *Elders*, *Wardens*.

2. *Time of Magiſtrates*, whereof ſome are perpetual, ſome for a time, *viz.* for more years, a year, half a year, according to the neceſſitie of the *Common-wealth*, and not perpetual; or at leaſt not *Hereditary* in a Kingdom. Yearly in an *Ariſtocracy*, or half yearly

yearly in a *Free-State.*

3. *Manner* of choice, by whom & how to be choſen, where eſpecially they are to be choſen by ſuffrage, and not by Lot.

Cauſes preſerving a State, or Common-wealth.

In preſerving of *States* 2 things required.

1. *Myſteries*, or *Sophiſms.*
   1. *General to all States.*
   2. *Particular* for every ſeveral *State.*
2. *Rules*, or *Actions.*
   1. *General*, for all *States.*
   2. *Particular*, for every *State.*

Myſteries, or Sophiſms.

Myſteries, or *Sophiſms* of *State*, are certain ſecret practiſes, either for the avoiding of danger, or averting ſuch effects as tend to the preſer-

vation of the preſent *State*, as it is ſet or founded.

State Myſteries are of two ſorts.

1. *General:* That pertain to all *States*; as firſt, to provide by all means, that the ſame degree, or part of the *Common-wealth*, do not exceed both in *Quantity* and *Quality*. In *Quantity*, as that the number of the *Nobility*, or of great perſons, be not more, than the *State* or *Common-wealth* can bear. In *Quality*, as that none grow in wealth, Liberty, Honours, *&c.* more than it is meet for that degree; For as in weights, the heavier weights bear down the Scale: So in Common-wealths, that part of degree that excelleth the reſt in *Quality* and *Quantity*, overſwayeth the reſt after it, whereof follow alterations, and converſions of *State*. Secondly, to provide by all means, that the middle ſort of people exceed both the extreams, (*viz.*) of *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the baſe raſcal, and beggarly ſort. For this maketh the *State* conſtant and firm, when both the *Extreams* are tyed together by a middle ſort, as it were with a band, as for any conſpiracy of the rich and beggarly ſort together, it is not to be feared. To theſe two points, the *Particu-*

lar

lar rules in *Sophiſms* of every *Common-wealth*, are to be applied.

2. *Particular*: That ſerve for preſervation of every *Common wealth*, in that form of *State* wherein it is ſettled, as in a Kingdom. That the *Nobility* may be accuſtomed to bear the *Government* of the *Prince*, eſpecially ſuch as have their dwelling in remote places from the *Princes* eye, it is expedient to call them up at certain times to the *Princes Court*, under pretence of doing them honour, or being deſirous to ſee, and enjoy their preſence; and to have their children, eſpecially their eldeſt, to be attendant upon the Prince, as of ſpecial favour towards them & theirs, that ſo they may be trained up in duty and obedience towards the Prince, and be as *Hoſtages* for the good behaviour. and faithful dealing of their Parents; eſpecially, if they be of any ſuſpected note. To that end ſerves the *Perſian* practiſe, in having a Band, or Train of the *Satrapa*'s children, and other Nobles to attend the Court; which was well imitated by our Train of *Henchmen*, if they were of the Nobler ſort. Again, ſometimes to borrow ſmall ſums of his Subjects, and to pay them again, that he may after borrow

greater ſums and never pay: So in an *Oligarchy*, leaſt it decline to a *Popular State*, they deceive the people with this and the like *Sophiſms*, (*viz.* They compell their own ſort, to wit, the rich men, by great penalties, to frequent their Aſſemblies for chooſing of Magiſtrates, for proviſion of Armour, warlike Exerciſes, making an Execution of Laws, *&c.* By that means ſeeming to bear a hard hand over the richer, but to ſuffer the poorer, and meaner ſort to be abſent, & to neglect thoſe Aſſemblies under pretence, that they will not draw them from their buſineſs, & private earnings: Yet withall to cite thither ſome few of them, (*viz.*) ſo many as are eaſily over-matched by the richer ſort, to make a ſhew, that they would have the people or poorer ſort, partakers likewiſe of thoſe matters, yet terrifying thoſe that come to their Aſſemblies, with the tedioufneſs of conſultations, greatneſs of Fines, if they ſhould miſdo, to the end, to make them unwilling to come again, or to have to do with thoſe *Conſultations*, by which means, the richer ſort do ſtill *govern* the *State*, with the peoples liking, and good contentment.

Axioms

Axioms.

Axioms or *Rules* of preserving the *State* are,
1. *General*, that serve for all *Common-wealths.*
2. *Particular*, that serve for every *several State.*

General Rules.

1. THe first and principal *Rule* of *Policy* to be observed in all *States*, is to profess, and practise, and maintain the true worship and *Religion* of Almighty God, prescribed unto us in his word, which is the chief end of all *Government*. The *Axiom*, That God be obeyed simply without exception, though he command that which seemeth unreasonable, and absurd to *Humane policy*; as in the *Iews Common-wealth*: That all the men should repair yearly to one place to worship God four times, leaving none to defend their coast, though being beset with many Enemies. Nor to sow the seventh year, but to suffer the ground to rest untilled without respect or fear of famine, &c.

2. To avoid the causes of *Conversion*, whereby States are overthrown, that are set down in the Title of conversions; For that *Common-wealth* (as natural bodies) are preserved by avoiding that which hurteth the health and *State* thereof, and are so cured by contrary medicines.

3. To take heed, that no *Magistrate* be created or continued, contrary to the Laws and policy of that *State*. As that in a *Senate*, there be not created a perpetual *Dictator*; as *Cæsar* in *Rome*. In a Kingdome, that there be no *Senate*, or *Convention* of *equal power* with the Prince in *State* matters; as in *Poland*.

4. To create such *Magistrates* as love the *State* as it is settled, and take heed of the contrary practise, as to advance Popular persons in a Kingdome, or *Aristocracy*. And secondly, to advance such as have skill to discern what doth preserve, and what hurteth or altereth the present *State*.

5. To that end to have certain Officers to pry abroad, and to observe such as do not live and behave themselves in fit sort, agreeable to the present *State*, but desire rather to be under some other form, or kind of *Government*.

6. To

6. To take heed that Magiſtracies be not ſold for money, nor bribe in their Offices, which is eſpecially to be obſerved in that *Common-wealth*, which is governed by a few of the richer ſort; For if the Magiſtrate gain nothing but his *Common Fees*, the common ſort, and ſuch as want honour, take in good part that they be not preferred: and are glad rather that themſelves are ſuffered to intend private buſineſs. But if the *Magiſtrate* buy and ſell matters, the common people are doubly grieved, both becauſe they are debar'd of thoſe preferments, and of that gain they ſee to grow by them, which is the cauſe that the *German Oligarchies* continue ſo firm, for both they ſuffer the poorer ſort to grow into wealth, and the richer ſort are by that means freed, and ſecured from being under the poor.

7. To take heed that the *State*, as it is ſettled and maintained, be not overſtrict, nor exceed in his kind; (*viz.*) That a Kingdom be not too Monarchical, nor a *Popular State* too *Popular*: For which cauſe it is good, that the Magiſtrates ſometimes yield of their right touching honour, and behave themſelves familiarly with thoſe that are equal unto them in other parts, though

inferiour for place and office; And ſometimes popularly with the common people, which is the cauſe that ſome *Common-wealths*, though they be very ſimply, and unkindly ſet, yet continue firm, becauſe the Magiſtrates behave themſelves wiſely, and with due reſpect towards the reſt that are without honour; and therefore ſome kind of *Moderate Popularity* is to be uſed in every *Common-wealth*.

8. To take heed of ſmall beginnings, and to meet with them even at the firſt, as well touching the breaking and altering of Laws, as of other rules which concern the continuance of every ſeveral *State*. For the diſeaſe and alteration of a *Common-wealth*, doth not happen all at once, but grows by degrees, which every common wit cannot diſcern, but men expert in POLICIE.

9. To provide, that that part be ever the greater in number and power, which favours the *State* as now it ſtands. This is to be obſerved as a very Oracle in all Common-wealths.

10. To obſerve a mean in all the degrees, and to ſuffer no part to exceed, or decay overmuch. As firſt for pre-

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ferments, to provide that they be rather ſmall and ſhort, than great and long; and if any be grown to overmuch greatneſs, to withdraw or diminiſh ſome part of his honour. Where theſe *Sophiſms* are to be practiſed (*viz.*) to do it by parts and degrees; to do it by occaſion, or colour of law, and not all at once. And if that way ſerve not, to advance ſome other, of whoſe virtue and faithfulneſs, we are fully aſſured, to as high a degree, or to a greater honour, and to be the friends and followers of him that excelleth, above that which is meet. As touching wealth, to provide, that thoſe of the middle ſort (as before was ſaid) be more in number; and if any grow high, and over-charged with wealth, to uſe the *Sophiſms* of a *Popular State*, *viz.* to ſend him on Embaſſages, and Foreign Negotiations, or imploy him in ſome Office that hath great charges, and little honour, *&c.* To which end, the *Edileſhip* ſerved in ſome Commonwealths.

11. To ſuppreſs the Factions, and Quarrels of the Nobles, and to keep others that are yet free from joyning with them in their partakings and Factions,

12 To increaſe or remit the Common Taxes and Contribution; according to the wealth, or want of the People and *Common-wealth*. If the people be increaſed in Wealth, the Taxes and Subſidies may be increaſed. If they be poor, and their Wealth diminiſh, ſpecially by dearth, want of Traffick, *&c.* to forbear Taxes and Impoſitions, or to take little. Otherwiſe grudge and diſcontentments muſt needs follow. The *Sophiſms* that ſerve for Impoſitions, are theſe, and other of like ſort, To pretend buſineſs of great charge; as War, building of Ships, making of Havens, Caſtles, Fortifications, *&c.* for the Common defence; ſometimes by Lotteries and like deviſes, wherein ſome part may be beſtowed, the reſt reſerved for other expences; but Princely dealings needs no pretences.

13. To provide that the *Diſcipline* and *Training* of youth of the better ſort be ſuch as agreeth with that *Common-wealth*: As that in a Kingdome, the ſons of Moble men to be attendant at the Court, that they may be accuſtomed to obedience towards the Prince. In the *Senatory State*, that the ſons of the *Senatours* be not idlely, nor over-

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dantily brought up, but well instructed & trained up in *Learning*, *Tongues*, and *Martial Exercise*; that they may be able to bear that place in the Common wealth, which their Father held, and contrariwise, in a *Popular State*.

14. To take heed, least their *Sophisms*, or secret practises, for the continuance and maintenance of that *State*, be not discovered; least by that means they refuse and disappoint themselves, but wisely used, and be with great secrecie.

Particular Rules.

Rules and *Axioms*, for preserving of a Kingdome. { *Hereditary.* / *Conquered.*

Kingdoms Hereditary, are preserved at home by the ordering.

1. H*Imself*, *viz.* By the tempering and moderation of the Princes *Power* and *Prerogative*. For the less and more *temperate* their *Power* and *State* is, the more firm and stable is their

their Kingdom and Government; becauſe they ſeem to be farther off from a Maſter-like, and *Tyrannical Empire*; and leſs unequal in condition to the next degree, to wit, the *Nobility*, and ſo leſs ſubject to grudge and envie.

2. *Nobility, &c.* By keeping that degree and due *proportion*, that neither they exceed in number more than the Realm, or *State* can bear; as the *Scottiſh* Kingdom, and ſometime the *Engliſh*, when the Realm was overcharged with the number of *Dukes*, *Earls*, and other *Nobles*; whereby the *Authority of the Prince* was eclipſed, and the Realm troubled with their *Factions and Ambitions*. Nor that any one excel in Honour, power, or wealth, as that he reſemble another King within the Kingdom; as the houſe of *Lancaſter* within this Realm. To that end, not to load any with too much Honour or preferment, becauſe it is hard even for the beſt, and worthieſt men, to bear their greatneſs, and high Fortune temperately; as appeareth by infinite examples in all *States*. The *Sophiſms* for preventing, or reforming this inconvenience, are to be uſed with great caution and wiſedom. If any great

great perſon to be abated, not to deal with him by *calumniation* or *forged matter*, and ſo to cut him off without deſert, eſpecially if he be gracious among the people, after the *Machiavilian Policy*, which beſides the injuſtice, is an occaſion many times of greater danger towards the Prince. Not to withdraw their Honour all at once, which maketh a deſperate *diſcontentment* in the party, and a commiſeration in the people, and ſo greater love, if he be gracious for his virtue, & publick ſervice. Not to baniſh him into foreign Countreys, where he may have opportunity of practiſing with *Foreign States*, whereof great danger may enſue; as in the example of *Coriolanus*, *Henry* the fourth, and ſuch like. But to uſe theſe, and the like *Sophiſms. viz.* To abate their greatneſs by degrees, as *David*, *Ioabs*, *Iuſtinian*, *Belliſarius*, &c. To advance ſome other men to as great, or greater Honour, to ſhadow, or over-mate the greatneſs of the other. To draw from him by degrees his friends, and followers by *preferments*, *rewards*, and other good and lawful means; eſpecially, to be provided that theſe great men be not imployed in great or powerful affairs of the

the *Common-wealth*, whereby they may have more opportunity to ſway the *State*.

3. *People, viz.* So to order and behave himſelf, that he be loved and reverenced of the *People*. For that the Prince need not greatly fear home conſpiracies, or foreign Invaſion, if he be firmly loved of his own people. The reaſon, for that the Rebel can neither hope for any forces for ſo great enterpriſe, nor any refuge, being diſcovered and put to flight, if the multitude affect their Prince: But the common people being once offended, hath cauſe to fear every moving, both at home and abroad. This may be effected by the Prince, if he uſe means and art of getting the favour of the people, and avoid thoſe things that breed hatred and contempt; *viz.* if he ſeem as a *Tutor*, or a *Father* to love the people, and to protect them, if he maintain the peace of his Kingdome; For that nothing is more popular, nor more pleaſing to the people, than is peace.

4. If he ſhew himſelf oftentimes graciouſly, yet with *State* and *Majeſty* to his people, and receive complaints of his ſuppliants, and ſuch like.

5. If

5. If he ſit himſelf ſometimes in open *Courts*, and place of *Iuſtice* that he may ſeem to have a care of Juſtice among his people. If he beſtow many benefits and graces upon that City, which he maketh the *ſeat of his Empire*; and ſo make it ſure and faithfull unto him, which is fit to be in the middle of his Kingdome, as the heart in the middle of the body, or the Sun in the middle of Heaven, both to divide himſelf more eaſily into all the parts of his Dominions; and leaſt the furtheſt parts at one end move, whileſt the Prince is in the other. If he go in progreſs many times to ſee his Provinces, eſpecially, thoſe that are remote.

6. If he gratifie his *Courtiers* and *Attendants* in that ſort, and by ſuch means, as that he may ſeem not to pleaſure them with the hurt and injury of his people, as with *Monopolies*, and ſuch like.

7. If he commit the handling of ſuch things as procure envy, or ſeem grievous to his Miniſters, but reſerve thoſe things which are gratefull, and well pleaſing to himſelf; as the *French* Kings, who for that purpoſe, as may ſeem, have erected their *Court* at *Paris*,

ris, which acquitteth the Prince from grudge and envy, both with the *Nobles* and the *people*.

8. If he borrows ſometimes ſums of money of his people, though he have no need, and pay the ſame juſtly without *defalcaiion* of any part by his Exchequer, or other Officer.

9. If he avoid all ſuch things as may breed *hatred* or *contempt* of his perſon, which may be done, if he ſhew himſelf not too *light*, *inconſtant*, *hard*, *cruel*, *effeminate*, *fearful*, and *daſtardly*, &c. But contrariwiſe *Religious*, *Grave*, *Juſt*, *Valiant*, &c. Whereby appeareth the falſe doctrine of the *Machiavilian Policy*, with far the better means to keep the people in obedience, than love, and reverence of the people towards the Prince.

10. If the Prince be well furniſhed with Warlike proviſion, which is to be rumoured, and made known abroad: if it be known, that he is reverenced, and obeyed by his people at home.

11. If he provide ſo much as lieth in him, that his neighbour Kingdoms grow not overmuch in power and Dominion; which if it happen, he is to joyn ſpeedily with other Princes, which

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are in like danger to abate that greatneſs, and to ſtrengthen himſelf and the reſt againſt it. An overſight of the Chriſtian Princes towards the King of *Spain.*

12. If he get him Intelligencers by reward, or other means, to detect or hinder the deſigns of that Prince, with whom he hath differences, if any thing be intended againſt his *State.* Or at leaſt have ſome of his own Lydging abroad about that Princes *Court*, under colour of Embaſſage, or ſome other *pretence*; which muſt be men of *Skill* and *Dexterity* to ſerve for that turn.

13. To obſerve the Laws of his Countrey, and not to encounter them with his *Prerogative*, nor to uſe it at all where there is a *Law*, for that it maketh a ſecret and juſt grudge in the peoples hearts, eſpecially if it tender to take from them *their Commodities*, and to beſtow them upon other of his COURTIERS and *Miniſters.*

14. To provide eſpecially, That that part, *which favoureth the State* as it ſtandeth, be more potent then the other which *favoureth it not*, or deſireth a change.

15. To

15. To make ſpecial choice of good and ſound men to bear the place of *Magiſtrates*, eſpecially of ſuch as aſſiſt the *Prince of his Counſels* and *Policies*, and not lean overmuch to his own advice, contrary to the rule of *Machiavil*, who teacheth; *That a Prince can have no good Counſel, except it be in himſelf*; his reaſon, *becauſe if he uſe the counſel of ſome one, he is in danger to be overwrought, and ſupplanted by him*; and if he counſel with more, *Then he ſhall be diſtracted with the differences in Opinions.* As if a Prince of great, or mean wiſdome, could not take the *Iudgement of all his Councellours* in any point of *Policy*, or of ſo many as he himſelf thinketh good, and to take it either by word, or in writing, and himſelf then in private peruſe them all, and ſo *after good and mature deliberation*, make choice of the beſt, without any diſtraction or binding himſelf to the *direction of one.* For the Proverb is true, *that two eyes ſee more than one*; and therefore the adviſes, and *Conſultations of a Senatory State*, is compared by ſome *to a Feaſt or dinner, where many contribute towards the ſhot, by which means they have more variety of diſhes, and ſo better fare: and yet every man may make choice of that*

that diſh that ſerveth him beſt for his health and appetite.

16. The Prince himſelf is to ſit ſometimes in place of publick juſtice, and to give an experiment of his wiſdom and equity, whereby great reverence and eſtimation is gotten; as in the example of *Solomon*, which may ſeem the reaſon, why our Kings of *England* had their Kings Bench in Place of publick juſtice, after the manner of the ancient Kings that ſate in the Gate; where for better performing of this Princely duty, ſome ſpecial cauſes may be ſelected, which may throughly be debated and conſidered upon by the Prince in private, with the help and advice of his learned Councel, and ſo be decided publickly, as before is ſaid, by the Prince himſelf; At leaſt, the Prince is to take accompt of every Miniſter of publick Juſtice, that it may be known, that he hath a care of Juſtice, and doing right to his people, which makes the Juſtices alſo to be more carefull in performing of their duties.

17. To be moderate in his Taxes, and Impoſitions; and when need doth require, to uſe the Subjects purſe, to do it by Parliament, and with their con-

consents, making the cause apparent unto them, and shewing his unwillingness in charging them. Finally, so to use it, that it may seem rather an offer from his Subjects, than an exaction by him.

18. To stop small beginnings; unto this end, to compound the dissentions that rise amongst the Nobles, with caution, that such as are free be not drawn into parts, whereby many times the Prince is endangered, and the whole *Common-wealth* set in a *combustion*; as in the example of the *Barons War*, and the late Wars of *France*, which grew from a quarrel betwixt the *Guision Faction*, and the other *Nobility*.

19. To stir up the people, if they grow secure, and *negligent of Armour*, and *oteer provision* for the *Common-wealth*, by some rumour or fear of danger at home, to make more ready when occasion requireth. But this seldome to be used, least it be supposed a false Alarm, when there is need indeed.

20. To have special care, that his children, especially, the heir apparent, have such bringing up as is meet for a King, *viz.* in learning, specially of mat-

matters pertaining to *State*, and in Martial exercise, contrary to the practice of many Princes, who suffer their children to be brought up in pleasure, and to spend their time in hunting, &c. which by reason of their defects, afterwards is a cause of mis-government and alteration of *State*.

II.

Kingdomes new gotten, or purchased by force, are preserved by these means.

FIrst, if they have been Subjects before to his Ancestours, or have the same tongue, manners, or fashions, as have his own Countrey, it is an easy matter to retain such Countreys within their obedience, in case the Princes blood of the said Countrey be wholly extinct. For men of the same *quality*, *tongue* and *condition*, do easily *shole*, and *combine themselves together*, so much the rather, if the people of that Countrey have served before, and were not accustomed in their *own Liberty*, wherein especially is to be observed

ſerved, that the Laws and Cuſtomes of that purchaſed Countrey be not altered nor innovated, or at leaſt it be done by little and little. So the *Burgurdians* and *Acquitans* were annexed to *France*. The reaſon, becauſe *partly they have been accuſtomed to ſerve, and partly, for that they will not eaſily agree about any other to be their Prince, if the Bloud Royal be once extinguiſhed.* As for the invaſion of a foreign Countrey, whereunto the Prince hath no right, or whereof the right heir is living: It is not the part of a juſt Civil Prince, much leſs a Chriſtian Prince to enforce ſuch a Countrey; and therefore, the *Machiavilian* practiſes in this caſe, to make ſure work by extinguiſhing wholly the *Bloud Royal*, is lewd and impertinent: The like is to be ſaid of murthering the Natives, or the greateſt part of them, to the end he may hold the reſt in ſure poſſeſſion. A thing not onely againſt *Chriſtian Religion*, but it is inhumane injuſtice, cruel and barbarous.

2. The ſafeſt way is, (ſuppoſing a right) that ſome good part of the Natives be tranſplanted into ſome other place, and our Colonies, conſiſting of ſo many as ſhall be thought meet,

meet, be planted there in ſome part of the Province, *Caſtles*, *Forts*, and *Havens*, ſeized upon, and more provided in fit places, as the manner was of the *Babylonian Monarch*, which *Tranſplanted* ten *Iews*: And of the *Romans* in *France*, *Tribes of the Germany*, *Britany*, and other places. The reaſon:

1. For that otherwiſe Forces of Horſe and Foot, are to be maintained within the *Province*, which cannot be done without great charge.
2. For that the whole *Province* is troubled and grieved with removing and ſupplying the Army with victualls, carriages, &c.
3. For that Colonies are more ſure and faithfull, than the reſt.

As for the Natives that are removed from their former Seats, they have no means to hurt, and the reſt of the Natives being free from the inconvenience, and fearing that themſelves may be ſo ſerved if they attempt any thing raſhly, are content to be quiet.

The *Turks* practice in *Aſia*, where the chief grounds and dwellings are poſſeſſed by the Souldiers,

whom they call *Timariatæ*.

That the Prince have his ſeat and his reſidence, in his new purchaſe, eſpecially for a time, till things be well ſettled; eſpecially if the *Province* be great and large, as the *Turks* in *Greece*: The reaſons;

1. Becauſe the preſence of the Prince availeth much to keep things in order, and get the good will of his new Subjects.
2. They conceive that they have refuge by the Princes preſence, if they be oppreſſed by the Lieutenants, and inferiour Governours: Where it will be convenient for the winning the peoples hearts, that ſome example be made of puniſhing of ſuch as have committed any violence or oppreſſion.
3. Becauſe being preſent, he ſeeth and heareth what is thought and attempted; and ſo may quickly give remedy to it, which being abſent, he cannot do, or not do in time.

3. If the Prince himſelf cannot be preſent to reſide, then, to take heed that the charge of Governing, or new pur-

purchaſe be committed to ſuch as be ſure men, and of other meet quality, that depend wholly upon the Princes favour, and not to Natives, or other of their own Subjects, that are gracious for their *Nobility*, or *Virtue*; eſpecially, if the *Province* be great, and ſomewhat far diſtant, which may ſoon ſeduce the unſettled affections of thoſe new ſubjects; As for ſuch *Governours*, as depend wholly upon the Princes favour, being not born, but created *Noble*, they will not ſo eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be won from their duty, and in caſe they would revolt, yet they are not able to make any great ſtrength, for that the people obey them but as inſtruments and Miniſters, to keep them in ſubjection, and not for any ill will.

4. To have the children of the chief Noble men, and of greateſt Authority, Hoſtages with them in ſafe keeping, the more the better: For that no bond is ſtronger, than that of nature, to contain the Parents and Allies in obedience, and they the reſt.

5. To alter the laws but by degrees one after another, and to make other that are more behoovefull for the eſta-

bliſhing of the preſent *Govern-ment.*

6. To keep the people quiet and peaceable, and well affected ſo much as may be, that they may ſeem by being conquered, to have gotten a Protectour, rather than a Tyrant; For the *Common-People*, if they enjoy peace, and be not diſtracted nor drawn from their buſineſſe, nor exacted upon beyond meaſure, are eaſily contained under obedience; Yet notwithſtanding, they are to be diſ-uſed from the practiſe of Arms, and other Exerciſes which increaſe courage, and be weakned of *Armour*, that they have neither ſpirit, nor will to rebel.

7. If there be any faction in the Countrey, to take to him the defence of the better and ſtronger part, and to combine with it, as *Caſar* in *France.*

8. To look well to the *Borders*, and confining *Provinces*, and if any rule there of great, or equal power to himſelf, to joyn league with ſome other *Borderers*, though of leſſe ſtrength, to hinder the attempts (if any ſhould be) by ſuch neighbour Prince. For it happeneth often, that a Countrey infeſted by one neighbour Prince, calleth in

another, of as great, or greater power to assist and rescue it from the other that invadeth it: So the *Romans* were called into *Greece*, by the *Ætolians*; the *Saxons*, by the *Britains*, the *Danes*, by the *Saxons*.

9. To leave their Titles and Dignities to the Natives, but the Command and Authority wholly to his own.

10. Not to put much trust, nor to practise too often the *Sophisms* of Policie, especially those that appertain to a Tyrannical State, which are soon detected by men of Judgment, and so bring discredit to the Prince, and his Policy among the wiser and better sort of his Subjects; whereof must needs follow very ill effects.

The *Sophisms* of Tyrants are rather to be known then practised, (which are for the supporting of their Tyrannical States) by wise and good Princes, and are these, and such like as follow.

Rules Politick of Tyrants.

RUles practised by *Tyrants* are of two sorts; *viz.*

1. *Barbarous* and *Professed*, which is

proper to thoſe that have got head, and have power ſufficient of themſelves, without others help, as in the *Turkiſh*, and *Ruſſe* Government.

2. *Sophiſtical*, and *Diſſembled*; As in ſome States that are reputed for good and lawfull *Monarchies*, but inclining to Tyrannies, proper to thoſe which are not yet ſettled, nor have power ſufficient of themſelves; but muſt uſe the power and help of others, and ſo are forced to be Politick *Sophiſters*.

I.

Sophiſms of a Barbarous and Profeſſed Tyranny.

TO expell and baniſh out of his Countrey all honeſt means, whereby his people may attain to learning, wiſdome, valour, and other virtues, that they might be fit for that eſtate, and ſervile condition. For that theſe two, learning, and martial exerciſe, effect two things moſt dangerous to a Tyranny, *viz.* Wiſdome and Valour. For that men of ſpirit and underſtanding can hardly endure a ſervile State.

To

To this end, to forbid learning of Liberal Arts, and Martial Exercise; As in the *Russe Government*: so *Iulian* the *Apostate* dealt with the Christians. Contrariwise, to use his people to base occupations, and Mechanicall Arts, to keep them from idleness, and to put away from them all high thoughts, and manly conceits, and to give them a liberty of drinking drunk, and of other base and lewd conditions that they may be sotted, and so made unfit for great enterprises. So the *Egyptian* Kings dealt with the *Hebrews*; so the *Russe* Emperour with his *Russe* people: and *Charles* the Fifth with the *Netherlanders*, when he purposed to enclose their priviledges, and to bring them under his absolute Government.

2. To make sure to him, and his State, his *Military* men by reward, liberty, and other means, especially his Guard, or *Prætorian Band*, That being partakers of the spoil and benefit, they may like that *State*, and continue firm to it; as the *Turk*, his *Ianizaries*; the *Russe*, his *Boyarens*, &c.

3. To unarm his people of weapons, money, and all means, whereby they

may resist his power; and to that end, to have his set and ordinary exactions, &c. Once in two, three, or four years, and sometimes yearly, as the *Turk* and *Russe*, who is wont to say, *That his people must be used as his flock of sheep*, viz. *Their fleece taken from them, least it overlade them, and grow too heavy; that they are like to his beard, that the more it was shaven, the thicker it would grow.* And if there be any of extraordinary wealth, to borrow of them in the mean while, till the Tax come about, or upon some devised matter, to confiscate their goods, as the common practice is of the *Russe* and *Turk*.

4. To be still in Wars, to the end, his people may need a Captain; and that his Forces may be kept in practice, as the *Russe* doth yearly against the *Tartar*, *Polonian*, and *Swedes*, &c.

5. To cut off such as excell the rest in wealth, favour, or nobility; or be of a pregnant, or aspiring wit, and so are fearfull to a Tyrant; and to suffer none to hold office, or any honour, but onely of him; as the *Turk* his *Bashaes*, and the *Russe his Ruezzes*.

6. To forbid Guilds, Brotherhoods, Feastings, and other Assemblies among the

the people, that they have no means or opportunity to conſpire, or confer together of publick matters, or to maintain love amongſt themſelves, which is very dangerous to a Tyrant, the *Ruſſes* practiſe.

7. To have their Beagles, or liſtner in every corner, & parts of the Realm; eſpecially, in places that are moſt ſuſpect, to learn what every man ſaith, or thinketh; that they may prevent all attempts, and take away ſuch as miſlike their *State*.

1. To make Schiſm, and Diviſion among his Subjects, *viz.* To ſet one Noble man againſt another, and one Rich man againſt another, that through Faction & diſagreement among themſelves, they may be weakned, and attempt nothing againſt him, and by this means entertaining whiſperings, and complaints, he may know the ſecrets of both parts, and have matter againſt them both, when need requireth. So the *Ruſſe* made the Faction of the *Zemsky*, and the *Oppreſsiony*.

9. To have ſtrangers for his Guard, and to entertain *Paraſites*, and other baſe and ſervile fellows, not too wiſe, and yet ſubtile, that will be ready for reward to do and execute what he

commandeth, though never so wicked and unjust. For that good men cannot flatter, and wise men cannot serve a Tyrant.

All these practises, and such like, may be contracted into one or two, *viz.* To bereave his subjects of will and power to do him hurt, or to alter the present State. The use is caution, not Imitation.

II.

Sophisms of the Sophistical, or subtile Tyrant, to hold up his State.

1. TO make shew of a good King, by observing a temper and mediocrity in his Government, and whole course of life; To which end, it is necessary, That this subtile Tyrant, be a cunning Polititian, or a Machiavilian at the least, and that he be taken so to be, for that it maketh him more to be feared and regarded, and is thought thereby not unworthy for to Govern others.

2. To make shew not of severity, but of gravity, by seeming reverent, and

and not terrible in his ſpeech, and geſture, and habit, and other demeanour.

3. To pretend care of the Common-wealth; And to that end, to ſeem loath to exact Tributes, and other charges; and yet to make neceſſity of it, where none is: To that end to procure ſuch War as can bring no danger toward his State, and that might eaſily be compounded, or ſome other chargeable buſineſs; and to continue it on, that he may continue his exaction & contribution ſo long as he liſt. And thereof to imploy ſome in his publick ſervice, the reſt to hoord up in his Treaſury, which is ſometimes practiſed even by lawfull Princes; as *Edward* the Fourth in his Wars againſt *France*; when, having levied a great ſum of money throughout his Realm, eſpecially of the *Londoners*, he went over Seas, and returned without any thing doing.

4. Sometimes to give an account by open ſpeech, and publick writing, of the expence of ſuch Taxes and Impoſitions, as he hath received of his ſubjects, that he may ſeem to be a good husband and frugal, and not a robber of the Common-wealth.

5. To

5. To that end, to beſtow ſome coſt upon publick buildings, or ſome other work for the Common good, eſpecially upon the Ports, Forts, and chief Cities of his Realm, that ſo he may ſeem a Benefactour, and have a delight in the adorning of his Countrey, or doing ſome good for it.

6. To forbid feaſtings, and other meetings, which increaſe love, and give opportunity to confer together of publick matters, under pretence of ſparing coſt for better uſes, To that end the Curfieu Bell was firſt ordained by *William the Conquerour*, to give men warning to repair home at a certain hour.

7. To take heed that no one grow to be over-great, but rather, many equally great, that they may envy, and contend one with another; and if he reſolve to weaken any of this ſort, to do it warily and by degrees; If quite to wreck him, and to have his life, yet to give him a lawfull tryal, after the manner of his Countrey; And if he proceed ſo far with any of great power and eſtimation, as to do him contumely, or diſgrace, not to ſuffer him to eſcape, becauſe contumely and diſgrace, are things contrary unto Ho-

nour,

nour, which great ſpirits do moſt deſire, and ſo are moved rather to a revenge for their diſgrace, than to any thankfulneſs, or acknowledging the Princes favour for their pardon or diſmiſſion: True in *Atheiſts*, but not in true *Chriſtian Nobility*.

8. To unarm his people, and ſtore up their weapons, under pretence of keeping them ſafe, and having them ready when ſervice requireth, and then to arm with them ſuch, and many as he ſhall think meet, and to commit them to ſuch as are ſure men.

9. To make a ſchiſm or diviſion under hand among his Nobility, and betwixt the Nobility and the people, and to ſet one Rich man againſt another, that they combine not together, and that himſelf by hearing the griefs and complaints, may know the ſecrets of both parts, and ſo have matter againſt them both, when it liſteth him to call them to an account.

10. To offer no man any contumely or wrong, ſpecially, about womens matters, by attempting the chaſtity of their Wives or Daughters, which hath been the ruine of many Tyrants, and converſion of their States. As of *Tarqui-*

quinius, by *Brutus*; *Appius*, by *Virginius*; *Piſiſtratus*, by *Harmodius*; *Alexander Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, *Aloiſus* of *Placentia*, *Rodericus*, King of *Spain*, &c.

11. To that end, to be moderate in his pleaſures, or to uſe them cloſely that he be not ſeen; For that men ſober, or watchfull, or ſuch as ſeem ſo, are not lightly ſubject to contempt, or conſpiracies of their own.

12. To reward ſuch as atchieve ſome great or commendable enterprize; or do any ſpecial action for the Common-wealth, in that manner as it may ſeem, they could not be better regarded, in caſe they lived in a *Free-State*.

13. All rewards and things grateſull, to come from himſelf, but all puniſhments, exactions, and things ungratefull, to come from his Officers, and publick Miniſters; and when he hath effected what he would by them, if he ſee his people diſcontented withall, to make them a ſacrifice to pacifie his Subjects.

14. To pretend great care of Religion, and of ſerving God, (which hath been the manner of the wickedeſt

Ty-

Tyrants) for that people do leſs fear any hurt from thoſe, whom they do think virtuous and religious, nor attempt likely to do them hurt, for that they think that God protects them.

15. To have a ſtrong and ſure Guard of foreign Souldiers, and to binde them by good turns, that they having at leaſt profit, may depend upon him and the preſent State; As *Caligula* the *German* Guard, where the Nobility are many and mighty. The like practiſed by lawful Kings, as by the *French* King.

16. To procure that other great perſons be in the ſame fault, or caſe with them, that for that cauſe they be forced to defend the TYRANT, for their own ſafety.

17. To take part, and to joyn himſelf with the ſtronger part; if the Common people and mean degree be the ſtronger, to joyn with them; if the Rich and Noble, to joyn with them. For ſo that part with his own ſtrength will be ever able to overmatch the other.

18. So to frame his manners and whole behaviour, as that he may ſeem,

if

if not perfectly good, yet tolerably evil, or somewhat good, somewhat bad.

These Rules of Hypocritical Tyrants are to be known, that they may be avoided, and met withall, and not drawn into imitation.

Preservation of an Aristocracy.

RUles to preserve a *Senatory State*, are partly taken from the common Axioms, and partly from those that preserve a Kingdome.

Preservation of Sophisms. *an* Oligarchie, *by* Rules.

1. IN Consultations and Assemblies about publick affairs, to order the matter, that all may have liberty to frequent their Common Assemblies, and Councels; but to impose a Fine upon the richer sort, if they omit that duty. On the othe side, to pardon the people, if they absent themselves, and to bear with them under

der pretence, that they may the better intend their Occupations, and not be hindred in their Trades, and Earnings.

2. In election of Magistrates, and Officers: To suffer the poorer sort to vow, and abjure the bearing of Office, under colour of sparing them, or to enjoyn some great charge, as incident to the Office, which the poor cannot bear. But to impose some great Fine upon those that be rich, if they refuse to bear Office, being Elect unto it.

3. In judicial matters: In like manner to order, that the people may be absent from publick Tryals, under pretence of following their business. But the richer to be present, and to compell them by Fines, to frequent the Court.

4. In Warlike Exercise and Arms: That the poor be not forced to have Armour, Horse, &c. under pretence of sparing their cost, nor to be drawn from their Trades by Martiall Exercises; but to compell the Richer sort to keep their proportion of Armour, Horse, &c. by excessive Fines, and to exercise themselves in Warlike matters, &c.

5. To

5. To have ſpecial care of inſtructing their children in liberal Arts, Policy, and Warlike Exerciſe, and to obſerve good order and diſcipline. For as *Popular States* are preſerved by the frequency and Liberty of the people, ſo this Government of the Richer is preſerved by diſcipline, and *good order* of *Governours*.

6. To provide good ſtore of warlike furniture, eſpecially of *Horſe* and *Horſemen*, and of *Armed men*, viz. *Pike*, &c. which are proper to the Gentry, as *ſhot*; and light furniture are for a *Popular Company*.

7. To put in practice ſome points of a *Popular State*, viz. To lade no one man with too much preferment, to make yearly or half years Magiſtrates, &c. For that the people are pleaſed with ſuch things, and they are better ſecured by this means from the rule of one. And if any grow to too much greatneſs, to abate him by the *Sophiſm*: fit for this State.

8. To commit the Offices and Magiſtracies to thoſe that are beſt able to bear the greateſt charges for publick matters, which both tendeth to the conſervation of this State, and pleaſeth the people, for that they reap ſome re-

relief and benefit by it.

9. To the ſame end, To contract marriages among themſelvs; the rich with the rich, *&c.*

10. In ſome things which concern not the *Points*, and *matters of State*, as Electing Magiſtrates, Making Laws, *&c.* to give an equality, or ſometimes a preferment to the Common People, and not to do, as in ſome *Oligarchies* they were wont, *viz.* To ſwear againſt the People, to ſuppreſs and bridle them; but rather contrary, To miniſter an Oath at their admiſſion, *That they ſhall do no wrong to any of the People*; and if any of the richer offer *wrong* to any of the *Commons*, to ſhew ſome example of ſevere puniſhment.

For other *Axioms* that preſerve this State, they are to be borrowed from thoſe other rules that tend to the preſerving of a *Popular*, and *Tyrannical State*; for the ſtrict kind of *Oligarchy* is kin to a Tyranny.

Pro-

Preſervation of a popular State; { *Sophiſms*, *Rules*, or *Axioms*.

1. IN publick Aſſemblies and Conſultations about matters of State, creating of Magiſtrates, publick Juſtice, and Exerciſe of Arms, to practiſe the contrary to the former kind of Government; to wit, an *Oligarchie*. For in popular States, the Commons and meaner ſort are to be drawn to thoſe Aſſemblies, Magiſtrates, Offices, Warlike Exerciſe, *&c.* by mulcts and rewards; and the richer ſort are to be ſpared, and not to be forced by fine, or otherwiſe, to frequent theſe Exerciſes.

2. To make ſhew of honouring and reverencing the richer men, and not to ſwear againſt them, as the manner hath been in ſome Popular State; but rather to prefer them in all other matters, that concern not the State and publick Government.

3. To elect Magiſtrates from among the Commons by Lot, or Ballating, and not to chuſe any for their wealths ſake.

4. To take heed, that no man bear office twice, except it be Military, where the pay & ſalary, *&c.* is to be reſerved in their

their own hands, to be disposed of by a Common Councel, &c. And to see that no man be too highly preferred.

5. That no Magistracy be perpetual, but as short as may be, to wit, for a year, half a year, &c.

6. To compel Magistrates, when their time expireth, to give an accompt of their behaviour and government, and that publickly before the Commons.

7. To have publick Salaries and allowance of their Magistrates, Judges, &c. And yearly dividents for the common people, and such as have most need among them.

8. To make Judges of all matters out of all sorts, so they have some aptness to perform that duty.

9. To provide that publick Judgements and Trials be not frequent; and to that end to inflict great Fines and other punishments upon Pettifoggers & Dilators, as the law of requital. &c. Because for the most part the richer and nobler, and not the Commons are indited and accused in this Commonwealth, which causeth the rich to conspire against the State; whereby many times the popular State is turned into an *Oligarchie*, or some other Government.

ment. Hereto tendeth that Art of Civil Law, made against Accusers and Calumniatours: *Ad Senatus-consultum Turpilianum*, l. 1. *de Calumniatoribus.*

10. In such free States as are popular, and have no revenue, to provide that publick Assemblies be not after: because they want salary for Pleaders and Oratours; And if they be rich; yet to be wary, that all the revenue be not divided amongst the Commons. For, that this distribution of the Common revenue among the multitude, is like a purse or barrel without a bottom. But to provide, that a sufficient part of the revenue be stored up for the publick affairs.

11. If the number of the poor encrease too much in this kind of State, to send some abroad out of the Cities into the next Countrey places, and to provide above all, that none do live idlely, but be set to their trades. To this end, to provide that the richer men place in their Farms and Copy-holds, such decayed Citizens.

12. To be well advised what is good for this State, and not to suppose that to be fit for a popular State, that seemeth most popular; but that which is, be for the continuance thereof: And

to

to that end, not to lay into the *Exchequer* or *Common Treasury*, such goods as are confiscate, but to store them up as holy and consecrate things, which except it be practised, confiscations, & fines of the Common people would be frequent, and so this State would decay by weakening the people.

Conversion of States in general.

CONversion of a State, is the declining of the Common-wealth either to some other form of Government, or to his full and last period appointed by God.

Causes of Conversions of States are of two sorts: General and Particular.

General, (*viz.*) 1. Want of Religion: *viz.* of the true Knowledge and Worship of God prescribed in his Word; and notable sins that proceed from thence in Prince and People, as in the examples *Saul*, *Uzziah*, the Jewish State; the four Monarchies, and all other.

2. Want

2. Want of Wiſdom and good Councel to keep the State, the Prince, Nobles, and people in good temper, and due proportion, according to their ſeveral order and degrees.

3. Want of Juſtice either in adminiſtration (as ill Laws, or ill Magiſtrates) or in the execution, as rewards not given where they ſhould be, or there beſtowed where they ſhould not be, or puniſhments not inflicted where they ſhould be.

4. Want of power and ſufficiency to maintain and defend it ſelf, *viz.* Of proviſion, as Armor, Money, Captains, Souldiers, &c. Execution, when the means or proviſion is not uſed, or ill uſed.

5. *Particular*: To be noted and collected out of the contraries of thoſe rules, that are preſcribed for the preſervation of the Common-wealth.

Particular cauſes of Converſion of States, are of two Sorts.

1. *Foreign*: By the over-greatneſſe of invaſion of ſome foreign Kingdome or other State of meaner power,

power, having a part within our own, which are to be prevented by the providence of the chief, and rules of policy for the preserving of every State: This falleth out very seldome for the great difficulty to overthrow a forreign State.

2. *Domestick.*
- Sedition or open violence by the stronger part.
- Alteration without violence.

Sedition.

Sedition is a power of inferiours opposing it self with force of Armes against the superiour power, *Quasi ditto secedens.*

Causes of Sedition are of two sorts.

1. *General*
- *Liberty* — When they that are of equal quality in a Commonwealth, or do take themselves so to be, are not regarded equally in all, or in any of these three.
- *Riches.* — Or, when they are

	so unequal in quality, or take themselves so to be, are regarded but equally, or with less respect than those that be of lesse defect in these three things, or in any of them.
Honour.	

1. IN *the Chief*: Covetousnesse or oppression, by the Magistrate or higher Power; (*viz.*) when the Magistrates, especially the Chief, encreaseth his substance and revenue beyond measure either with the publick or private calamity, whereby the Governours grow to quarrel among themselves, as in *Oligarchies*; or the other degrees conspire together, and make quarrel against the Chief, as in Kingdoms: The examples of *Wat Tyler*, *Jack Straw*, &c.

2. *In the Chief*: Injury; when great Spirits, and of great power, are greatly wronged & dishonoured, or take themselves so to be, as *Coriolanus*, *Cyrus minor*, Earl of *Warwick*. In which cases the best way is to decide the wrong.

3. Preferment, or want of preferment; wherein some have over much, and

and ſo wax proud and aſpire higher: or have more or leſſe than they deſerve, as they ſuppoſe, and ſo in envy and diſdain ſeek Innovation by open Faction: ſo *Cæſar*, &c.

4. Some great neceſſity or calamity; So *Xerxes* after the foil of his great Army. And *Senacherib* after the loſſe of 185. in one night.

1. *Envy*; when the chief exceed the mediocrity before mentioned and ſo provoketh the Nobility, and other degrees, to conſpire againſt him, as *Brutus Caſſius*, &c. againſt *Cæſar*.

2. *Fear*; *viz.* Of danger when one or more diſpatch the Prince by ſecret practiſe or force, to prevent his own danger, as *Artabanus* did *Xerxes*.

2. *Particular.*

3. *Luſt or Lechery*; as *Tarquinius Superbus*, by *Brutus*; *Piſiſtratinda*, by *Armodius*; *Appius* by *Virginius*.

Chief.

4. *Contempt*; For vile quality and baſe behaviour, as *Sardanapalus* by *Arbaces*, *Dionyſius* the younger by *Dion*.

Other degrees. 5. *Contumely*; when some great disgrace is done to some of great Spirit, who standeth upon his honour and reputation, as *Caligula* by *Chæreas*.

Other degrees. 6. *Hope* of *Advancement*, or some great profit, as *Mithridates*, *Anobarsanes*.

Alteration without violence.

CAuses of alteration without violence are; 1, *Excesse* of the State; when by degrees the State groweth from that temper and mediocrity wherein it was, or should have been setled, and exceedeth in power, riches, and absoluteness in his kind, by the ambition and covetousness of the chief immoderate taxes, and impositions, &c. applying all to his own benefit, without respect of other degrees, and so in the end changeth it self into another State or form of Government, as a Kingdome into a Tyranny, an *Oligarchy* into an *Aristocracy*.

2. *Excesse* of some one or more in the Common-wealth; *viz.* When some one or more in a Common-wealth grow

grow to an excellency or exceſſe above the reſt, either in honour, wealth, or virtue; and ſo by permiſſion and popular favour, are advanced to the Sovereignty: By which means, popular States grow into *Oligarchies*; and *Oligarchies* and *Ariſtocracies* into *Monarchies*. For which cauſe the *Athenians* and ſome other free States, made their Laws of *Oſtraciſmos*, to baniſh any for a time that ſhould excell, though it were in virtue, to prevent the alteration of their State; Which becauſe it is an unjuſt Law, 'tis better to take heed at the beginning to prevent the means, that none ſhould grow to that heighth and excellency, than to uſe ſo ſharp and unjuſt a remedy.

FINIS.

A

METHOD

How to make use of the Book before, in the reading of the Story.

DAVID being seventy yeares of age, was of Wisdome, Memory, &c. sufficient to govern his Kingdome; 1 *Reg. Cap.* 1.

Old age is not ever unfit for publick Government.

DAVID being of great years, and so having a cold, dry, and impotent body, married with *Abishag*, a fair maid, of the best complexion through the whole Realm, to revive his body, and prolong his life, 1 *Reg. Chap.* 1. *Vers.* 3.

Example of the like practise in Charles *the Fifth.*

DAVID being old and impotent of body, by the advice of his Nobles and Phisicians, married a young Maid called *Abishag*, to warm and preserve his old body.

Observation.

WHether *David* did well in marrying a Maid? and whether it be lawful for an old decayed and impotent man, to marry a young woman; or on the other side, for an old, worn, and decrepit woman to marry a young and lusty man.

For the Affirmative.

ARG. The end of Marriage is Society and mutual comfort; but there may be Society and mutual comfort in a marriage betwixt an old, and young party. *Ergo 'tis lawful.*

Answ. Society and comfort is a cause and effect of marriage; but none of the prin-

principal ends of Marriage: which are:

1. { Procreation of children, and so
2. { the continuance of mankind.
   { The avoiding of Fornication.

As for comfort and society, they may be betwixt man and man, woman and woman, where no marriage is, and therefore no proper ends of Marriage.

The Negative.

ARG. 1. That conjunction, which hath no respect to the right and proper ends, for which marriage was ordained by God, is no lawful marriage. But the conjunction betwixt an old impotent and young party, hath no respect to the right end, for which marriage was ordained by God. *Therefore is no lawful marriage.*

2. No contract, wherein the party contracting, bindeth himself to an impossible condition, or to do that which he cannot do, is good or lawful. But the contract of marriage by an impotent person with a young party, bindeth him to an impossible condition to do that which he cannot do, *viz.* to perform the duties of Marriage; Therefore

fore it is unlawful:

For the same cause, the Civil Law determineth a nullity in these marriages, except the woman know before the infirmity of the man, in which case she can have no wrong, being a thing done with her own knowledge and consent, because *Volenti non fit injuria: In regem Iulian. de adulteriis leg. Si Uxor*, &c.

It provideth farther, for the more certainty of the infirmity, That three years be expired before the dissolution of the marriage; because that men that have been infirm at the first, by reason of sickness or some other accident, afterwards proved to be sufficient: *De repudiis leg. in causis.*

Defence for David *in marrying* Abishag.

1. IT was rather a Medicine, than a marriage, without any evil, or disordered affection.

2. It was by the perswasion of his Nobles and Physicians.

3. It was for the publick good, to prolong the life of a worthy Prince.

4. It was with the knowledge and con-

consent of the young maid, who was made acquainted with the Kings infirmity, and to what end she was married unto him; who if she did it for the common good, and for duties sake, having withal the gift of continency, she is to be commended; if for ambition, or some vain respect, it is her own, and not *Davids* fault

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Political Nobility.

Adonijah *aspiring to the Kingdome*

FIrst, took the advantage of *David's* affection and kindnesse towards him, and make him secure of any ill dealing.

Secondly, of his age and infirmities, disabling his Father as unfit for Government.

Thirdly, blazed his Title, and Right to the Crown.

Fourthly, got him Chariots, Horsemen; and Foot-men, and a guard to make shew of State.

Fiftly, being a comely, and goodly Person, made a popular shew of himself, and his quali- Sixt-

Sixtly, joyned to himſelf in Faction *Ioab*, the General of the Army, who was in diſpleaſure for murthering of *Abner* and *Amaſa*, and feared that *David* would ſupply *Benajah* in his place, and ſo was diſcontented. And *Abiather* the high Prieſt, that was likewiſe diſcontented with *David*, for the preferment of *Zadok*.

Seventhly, had meetings with them, and other his confederates under pretence of a vow, & offering at the Fountain of *Raguel*, in the confines of *Iudea*.

Eightly, made a ſhew of Religion by Sacrificing, &c.

Ninthly, made himſelf familiar with the Nobles and people, and entertained them with feaſting.

Tenthly, drew into his part the chief Officers of the Court, and Servants to the King, by rewards, Familiarity, &c.

Eleventhly, diſgraced and abaſed the Competitor, and ſuch as he knew would take part with him, and concealeth his ambition, and purpoſe from them.

Twelfthly, Had *Ionathan* a Favourite of the Court, and near about the King to give him intelligence, if any thing were [illegible]ered, and moved at

at the Court, whileſt himſelf was in hand about his practiſe?

OBSERVATIONS.

Wayes of ſuch as aſpire to the Kingdome, and marks to diſcern them.

1. THey winde into the Princes favour by ſervice, officiouſneſs, flattery, *&c.* to plant him in a good opinion of their loyalty and faithfulneſs, thereby to make him ſecure of their practiſes.

2. They take advantage of the Princes infirmities, age, impotencie, negligence, ſex, *&c.* and work upon that by diſabling the Prince, and ſecret detracting of his State, and Government.

3. They blaze their Title, and claim to the Crown, if they have any, with their friends and favourites.

4. They provide them in ſecret of extraordinary forces, and furniture for the Warrs, make much of good Souldiers, and have a pretence (if it be eſpied) of ſome other end, as for the Kings Honour, or Service, and to be in readineſs againſt Foreign Enemies, *&c.*

5. They

5. They make open shew of their best qualities, and comlinesse of their persons (which though it be vain as a dumb shew, it is very effectual to win the liking of the popular sort, which, according to the rule of the election of Kings in the *Bees* Common-wealth, think that *Forma, est digna imperare*) Activitie, Nobilitie, Ancestrie, &c.

6. To have their blazers abroad to set out their virtues, and to prepare their friends in every Province.

7. To draw into their part, and make sure unto them of the chief Peers, and men of best quality, such as are mightiest and most gracious with the Souldiers, and Military men, and most subtile and politick, especially such as be ambitious and discontent with the State.

8. To have meetings for conference under some pretence of some ordinary matter in some convenient place, not too near, nor too far off, but where friends may best resort and assemble unto them without suspition.

9. To take up a shew and pretence of Religion more than before, and beyond the practice of their former life.

10. They use popular courtesie (which in a great person is very effectual) feasting, liberality, gaming, &c.

11. To

11. To be over liberal, and win to them by gifts, familiaritie, *&c.* the chief Officers of the Court, and Governours of State.

12. To have some near about the Prince, to keep them in credit, and common suspition, if any arise.

13. To disgrace such as they know to be sure and faithfull to the Prince, and present *State*, or to the competitour, and to bring them into contempt by slander, detraction, and all means they can, and to conceal the designs from them, lest they be discovered before they be too ripe.

14. To have some Spie near about the Prince, to advertise them if any inckling of suspition arise, whilest themselves are practising.

Note the practises of *Absolom*, 2 *Sam.* 16. And of *Cyrus minor* in *Xenophon*; Περὶ ἀναβάσεως, *cap.* 1.

Political Prince.

David *being a most worthy and excellent Prince for Wisedom, Valour, Religion,*

on, and Justice, & so highly deserving of the Commonwealth, yet grown into age, grew withal into contempt, and had many both of his Nobles, and common people, that fell from him; first with Absolom, *then with* Adonijah, *who affected the Kingdome, and rebelled against him: For remedy whereof, he stirred up himself to publick actions, which might shew his vigour and sufficiencie to manage the affairs of his Kingdome.*

1. AFter the Victorie against *Absolom*, he forced himself to forbear mourning, and shewed himself to his discontented Army, when all were like to fall from him, for his unreasonable sorrow and lamentation for his Son.

2. After

2. After the Victory, he caused a general Convention to be assembled of the whole Nation, to bring him home with honour to *Ierusalem*, which was a renewing, and re-establishing of him, 2 *Sam.*19.12.

3. He gave an experiment of his power and authority, by deposing a person of great authority and estimation; to wit *Ioab*, General Captain of the Army, and advancing *Amasa* in his place.

4. He sent kinde Messages to *Ierusalem*, and to her chief & head Towns, and Special men of *Iudea*, his Contributes, putting them off their alliance with him, with these words, *That they were of his own flesh and blood*, with protestation of his special love and affection towards them, to provide them with the like kindeness and affection towards him.

5. He assembled a Parliament of his whole Realm, and took occasion upon the designing of his Successour, to commend unto them the succession of his House, and the continuance and maintenance of Gods true Worship and Religion then established, and gave a grave and publick Charge to his Successour now designed, touching the man-

manner of his Government, and maintaining of Religion, 1 *Chron.* 12. 13.

6. He shewed his Bounty and Magnificence in congesting matter for building of the Temple, as Gold, Silver, Brass, *&c.* and caused it to be published and made known to the Parliament and whole Nation, 1 *Chron.* 22. 13.

7. He revived the Church-Government, and set it in a right order, assigning to every Church-Officer his Place and Function.

8. He suppressed the Faction of *Adonijah*, and ordained *Solomon* his Successour, 1 *King.* 1. 21. By these means he retained his Majestie and Authoritie in his old age, as appeareth by the effect; for that being bed-rid, he suppressed the Faction of *Adonijah*, (which was grown mighty, and was set on foot) with his bare commandment, and signification of his pleasure: and so he died in peace.

FINIS.

SIR

WALTER RALEIGH's

INSTRUCTIONS

TO HIS

SONNE,

AND TO

POSTERITY.

Corrected and enlarged according to the Authours own Copy.

LONDON,
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1664.

SIR *WALTER RALEIGH* TO HIS SON.

CHAP. I.

Vertuous persons to be made choice of for friends.

THere is nothing more becoming any wise man, than to make choice of Friends; for by them thou shalt be judged what thou art: Let them therefore be wise and vertuous, and none of those that follow thee for gain; but make election rather

ther of thy betters, than thy inferiours, ſhunning alwayes ſuch as are poor and needy: For if thou giveſt twenty gifts, and refuſe to do the like but once, all that thou haſt done will be loſt, and ſuch men will become thy mortal enemies: Take alſo ſpecial care, that thou never truſt any friend or ſervant, with any matter that may endanger thine eſtate; for ſo ſhalt thou make thy ſelf a bond-ſlave to him that thou truſteſt, and leave thy ſelf alwayes to his mercy: And be ſure of this, thou ſhalt never find a friend in thy young years, whoſe conditions and qualities will pleaſe thee after thou comeſt to more diſcretion and judgement, and then all thou giveſt is loſt, and all wherein thou ſhalt truſt ſuch a one, will be diſcovered. Such therefore as are thy inferious, will follow thee but to eat thee out; and when thou leaveſt to feed them, they will hate thee; and ſuch kind of men, if thou preſerve thy eſtate, will alwayes be had: And if thy friends be of better quality than thy ſelf, thou mayeſt be ſure of two things: the firſt, That they will be more careſull to keep thy counſel, becauſe they have more to loſe than thou haſt: the ſecond, They will eſteem

thee

thee for thy ſelf, and not for that which thou doeſt poſſeſs; but if thou be ſubject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will bleſs thee) then therein truſt no man; for every mans folly ought to be his greateſt ſecret. And although I perſwade thee to aſſociate thy ſelf with thy betters, or at leaſt with thy Peers, yet remember alwayes that thou venture not thy eſtate with any of thoſe great Ones that ſhall attempt unlawfull things, for ſuch men labour for themſelves, and not for thee; thou ſhalt be ſure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a ſure eſtate in preſent, in hope of a better in future, is meer madneſs: And great men forget ſuch as have done them ſervice, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for ſaying thou haſt been a mean of their advancement, then acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thouſand examples, and I my ſelf know it, and have taſted it in all the courſe of my life; when thou ſhalt read and obſerve the Stories of all Nations, thou ſhalt find innumerable examples of the like: Let thy love therefore be to the beſt,

ſo

so long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy Countrey, thy Prince, and thine own estate, before all others: for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to day, hateth to morrow; but let reason be thy School-mistress, which shall ever guide thee aright..

CHAP. II.

Great care to be had in the choosing of a Wife.

THe next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a Wife, and the onely danger therein, is Beauty, by which all men in all ages, wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments, to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none, that ever resisted that Witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things, which may be thy ruine and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasie in that appetite, before all other worldly desires, leaving the

the care of honour, credit, and ſafety in reſpect thereof: But remember, that though theſe affections do not laſt, yet the bond of Marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be born withall in a Miſtreſs, than in a Wife; for when thy humour ſhall change, thou art yet free to chuſe again (if thou give thy ſelf that vain liberty.) Remember ſecondly, That if thou marry for Beauty, thou bindeſt thy ſelf all thy life for that, which perchance will neither laſt nor pleaſe thee one year; and when thou haſt it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the degree dieth when it is attained, & the affection periſheth, when it is ſatisfied. Remember, when thou wert a ſucking Child, that then thou didſt love thy Nurſe, and that thou wert fond of her, after a while thou didſt love thy Dry-Nurſe, and didſt forget the other, after that thou didſt alſo deſpiſe her; ſo will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years; and therefore, though thou canſt not forbear to love, yet forbear to link; and after a while thou ſhalt find an alteration in thy ſelf, and ſee another far more pleaſing than the firſt, ſecond, or third Love; yet I wiſh thee above all the reſt, have a care thou

doſt

doſt not marry an uncomely Woman for any reſpect; for comelineſs in Children is riches, if nothing elſe be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horſes, and other beaſts, value the ſhape and comelineſs of thy Children, before alliances or riches: have care therefore of both together; for if thou have a fair Wife and a poor one, if thine own eſtate be not great, aſſure thy ſelf that Love abideth not with want; for ſhe is thy companion of plenty and honour: for I never yet knew a poor Woman exceeding fair, that was not made diſhoneſt by one or other in the end. This *Bathſheba* taught her Son *Solomon*; *Favour is deceitfull, and Beauty is vanity:* She ſaith further, *That a wiſe woman overſeeth the wayes of her houſhold, and eateth not the bread of Idleneſs.*

Have therefore ever more care, that thou be beloved of thy Wife, rather than thy ſelf beſotted on her; and thou ſhalt judge of her love by theſe two Obſervations: firſt, If thou perceive ſhe have a care of thy eſtate, and exerciſe her ſelf therein; the other, If ſhe ſtudy to pleaſe thee, and be ſweet unto thee in converſation, without thy inſtruction; for Love needs no teach-

ing, nor precept. On the other ſide, be not ſowre or ſtern to thy wife, for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred: Let her have equal part of thy Eſtate whileſt thou liveſt, if thou finde her ſparing and honeſt; but what thou giveſt after thy death, remember that thou giveſt it to a ſtranger, and moſt times to an enemy; for he that ſhall marry thy wife, will deſpiſe thee, thy memory, and thine, and ſhall poſſeſs the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou haſt planted, enjoy thy love, and ſpend with joy and eaſe what thou haſt ſpared, and gotten with care and travel: Yet alway, remember that thou leave not thy wife to be a ſhame unto thee after thou art dead, but that ſhe may live according to thy Eſtate; eſpecially, if thou haſt few Children, and them provided for. But howſoever it be, or whatſoever thou finde, leave thy wife no more than of neceſſity thou muſt, but onely during her widowhood; for if ſhe love again, let her not enjoy her ſecond love in the ſame bed wherein ſhe loved thee, nor flie to future pleaſures with thoſe feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy eſtate to thy houſe and children, in which thou liveſt upon

on earth whileſt it laſteth. To conclude, Wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transferre them, and diminiſh them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy houſe and eſtate, which liveth in thy Son, and not in thy Wife, is to be preferred. Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and ſtrong yeares; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and ſhe that had thee not in thy flower, will deſpiſe thee in thy fall, and thou ſhalt be unto her but a captivity and ſorrow. Thy beſt time will be towards thirty, for as the younger times are unfit, either to chuſe or to govern a wife and family; ſo if thou ſtay long, thou ſhalt hardly ſee the education of thy Children, which being left to ſtrangers, are in effect loſt, and better were it to be unborn, than ill bred; for thereby thy poſterity ſhall either periſh, or remain a ſhame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou ſhalt ſpend the prime and ſummer of thy life with Harlots, deſtroy thy health, impoveriſh thy eſtate, and endanger thy life; and be ſure of this, that how many Miſtreſſes ſoever thou haſt, ſo many enemies thou ſhalt

purchaſe to thy ſelf; for there never was any ſuch affection, which ended not in hatred or diſdain. Remember the ſaying of *Solomon*, *There is a way which ſeemeth right to a man, but the iſſues thereof are the wages of death*; for howſoever a lewd woman pleaſe thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and ſhe will ſtudy to deſtroy thee. If thou canſt not abſtain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou ſoweſt on the ſands, and doſt mingle the vital blood with corruption, and purchaſeſt diſeaſes, repentance, and hatred only. Beſtow therefore thy youth ſo, that thou mayſt have comfort to remember it when it hath forſaken thee, and not ſigh and grieve at the account thereof: whileſt thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longeſt day hath his evening, and that thou ſhalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again; uſe it therefore as the Spring time, which ſoon departeth, and wherein thou oughteſt to plant, and ſow all proviſions for a long and happy life.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Wiſeſt men have been abuſed by Flatterers.

TAke care thou be not made a fool by Flatterers; for even the wiſeſt men are abuſed by theſe. Know therefore, that Flatterers are the worſt kind of Traitours; for they will ſtrengthen thy imperfections, encourage thee in all evills, correct thee in nothing, but ſo ſhadow and paint all thy vices, and follies, as thou ſhalt never, by their will, diſcern evil from good, or vice from virtue. And becauſe all men are apt to flatter themſelves, to entertain the additions of other mens praiſes, is moſt perillous. Do not therefore praiſe thy ſelf, except thou wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool, neither take delight in the praiſes of other men, except thou deſerve it, and receive it from ſuch as are worthy and honeſt, and will withall warn thee of thy faults; for Flatterers have never any virtue, they are ever baſe, creeping, cowardly perſons. A Flatterer is ſaid to be a beaſt that biteth ſmiling, it is ſaid by *Iſaiah* in this man-

ner, *My people, they that praiſe thee ſeduce thee, & diſorder the paths of thy feet:* and *David* deſired God to cut out the tongue of flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, ſo are they obſequious and full of proteſtations for as a *Wolf* reſembles a *Dog*, ſo doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an *Ape*, who becauſe ſhe cannot defend the houſe like a *Dog*, labour as an Ox, or bear burdens as a horſe, doth therefore yet play tricks, and provoke laughter: Thou mayeſt be ſure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy miſlike, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men thatcan endure it, every man for the moſt part delighting in ſelf-praiſe, which is one of the moſt univerſall follies which bewitcheth mankind.

CHAP. IV.

Private quarrels to be avoided.

BE carefull to avoid publick diſputations at Feaſts, or at Tables, among

mong cholerick or quarrelſome perſons; and eſchew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with Ruffians, for thou ſhalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel, as in a battel, wherein thou mayeſt get honour to thy ſelf, and ſafety to thy Prince and Countrey; but if thou be once engaged, carry thy ſelf bravely, that they may fear thee after. To ſhun therefore private fight, be well adviſed in thy words and behaviour; for honour and ſhame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man cauſeth him to fall.

Jeſt not openly at thoſe that are ſimple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiſer. Defame not any woman publickly, though thou know her to be evil; for thoſe that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed, but will ſeek to be avenged of thee, and thoſe that are not guilty cannot endure unjuſt reproach. And as there is nothing more ſhamefull and diſhoneſt, than to do wrong, ſo truth it ſelf cutteth his throat that carrieth her publickly in every place. Remember the divine ſaying, *He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life.* Do therefore right to all

men where it may profit them, and thou ſhalt thereby get much love, and forbear to ſpeak evil things of men, though it be true (if thou be not conſtrained) and thereby thou ſhalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuſe any man of any crime, if it be not to ſave thy ſelf, thy Prince, or Countrey; for there is nothing more diſhonourable (next to Treaſon it ſelf) than to be an Accuſer. Notwithſtanding I would not have thee for any reſpect looſe thy reputation, or endure publick diſgrace; for better it were not to live, than to live a Coward, if the offence proceed not from thy ſelf; if it do, it ſhall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thy ſelf; for if thou overcome, thou art under the cruelty of the Law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or diſhonoured. If thou therefore contend, or diſcourſe in argument, let it be with wiſe and ſober men, of whom thou mayeſt learn by reaſoning, and not with ignorant perſons, for thou ſhalt thereby inſtruct thoſe that will not thank thee, and utter, what they have learned from thee, for their own. But if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee ho-

ho-

nour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and as *Solomon* saith, *The mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth:* And by thy words and discourses, men will judge thee. For as *Socrates* saith, *Such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds.* Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, what thou maintainest; whether touching Religion, State, or vanity; for if thou erre in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish: He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a City without walls, and less pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore, if thou observest this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldome erre, restrain thy choller, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the world.

According to *Solomon*, *Life and death are in the power of the tongue:* and as *Euripides* truly affirmeth, *Every unbridled tongue, in the end ſhall find it ſelf unfortunate*; for in all that ever I obſerved in the courſe of worldly things, I ever found that mens fortunes are oftner made by their tongues, than by their virtues, and more mens fortunes overthrown thereby alſo, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, miſchief, hatred, and deſtruction, ariſeth from unadviſed ſpeech, and in much ſpeech there are many errours, out of which thy enemies ſhall ever take the moſt dangerous advantage. And as thou ſhalt be happy, if thou thy ſelf obſerve theſe things, ſo ſhall it be moſt profitable for thee to avoid their companies that erre in that kinde, and not to hearken to Talebearers, to inquiſitive perſons, and ſuch as buſie themſelves with other mens eſtates, that creep into houſes as ſpies, to learn news which concerns them not; for aſſure thy ſelf ſuch perſons are moſt baſe and unworthy, and I never knew any of them proſper, or reſpected amongſt worthy or wiſe men.

Take

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hatefull both to God and man. A liar is commonly a Coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man, he can have no credit, neither in publick nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in S. *Iohn* saith, *That it is a vice proper to Satan*, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in Truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the *Proverbs*, *That God hateth false lips*; *and he that speaketh lies shall perish*. Thus thou mayest see and finde in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good (except in the extremity of saving life; for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Three Rules to be obſerved for the preſervation of a mans Eſtate.

AMongſt all other things of the World, take care of thy Eſtate, which thou ſhalt ever preſerve, if thou obſerve three things: Firſt, that thou know what thou haſt, what every thing is worth that thou haſt, and to ſee that thou art not waſted by thy Servants and Officers. The ſecond is, that thou never ſpend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every mans Eſtate. The third is, that thou ſuffer not thy ſelf to be wounded for other mens faults, and ſcourged for other mens offenſes; which is, the ſurety for another, for thereby millions of men have been beggered and deſtroyed, paying the reckoning of other mens riot, and the charge of other mens folly and prodigality; if thou ſmart, ſmart for thine own ſins, and above all things be not made an Aſs

to

to carry the burdens of other men: If any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare, if he presse thee farther, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to it self, than offereth it: If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim: if for a Church-man, he hath no inheritance: if for a Lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee, if for a poor man, thou must pay it thy self: if for a rich man, it need not: therefore from Suretieship, as from a Man-slayer, or Enchanter, blesse thy self; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy, if thou use to pay it thy self, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what vertue soever thou hast, be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou, and thy qualities shall be despised: Besides, poverty is oft times sent as a curse of God, it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of every

every worty ſpirit; thou ſhalt neither help thy ſelf nor others, thou ſhalt drown thee in all thy vertues, having no means to ſhew them, thou ſhalt be a burthen, and an Eye ſore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company, thou ſhalt be driven baſely to beg, and depend on others to flatter unworthy men, to make diſhoneſt ſhifts: and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and deteſted deeds: Let no vanity therefore, or perſwaſion draw thee to that worſt of worldly miſeries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleaſure in health, comfort in ſickneſſe, keep thy minde and body free, ſave thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder yeers, relieve the poor, and thy honeſt Friends, and give means to thy poſterity to live, and defend themſelves, and thine own fame, where it is ſaid in the *Proverbs*, *That he ſhall be ſore vexed that is ſurety for a ſtranger, and he that hateth ſuretiſhip, is ſure.* It is further ſaid, *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many freinds.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thy ſelf, for if thou lendeſt him, count it but loſt;

be

be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

CHAP. VI.

What sort of Servants are fittest to be entertained.

LEt thy servants be such as thou maist command, and entertain none about thee but Yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee trebble as much as they that know thy fare: if thou trust any Servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for tediousness, neglect it. I my self have thereby lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and besides 'tis the way to make thy servants thieves, which else would be honest.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Brave Rags wear ſooneſt out of Faſhion.

EXceed not in the humour of rags and bravery; for theſe will ſoon wear out of faſhion; but money in thy Purſe will ever be in Faſhion; and no man is eſteemed for gay Garments but by Fools and Women.

CHAP. VIII.

Riches not to be ſought by evil means.

ON the other ſide, take heed that thou ſeek not Riches baſely, nor attain them by evil means, deſtroy no man for his wealth, nor take any thing from the Poor; for the crie and complaint thereof will pierce the Heavens. And it is moſt deteſtable before God, and moſt diſhonourable before Worthy men, to wreſt any thing from

from the needy and labouring Soul. God will never proſper thee in ought, if thou offend therein : But uſe thy poor neighbours and Tenants well, pine not them and their children, to adde ſuperfluity and needleſſe expences to thy ſelf. He that hath pity on another mans ſorrow, ſhall be free from it himſelf; and he that delighteth in, and ſcorneth the miſery of another, ſhall one time or other fall into it himſelf. Remember this Precept, *He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompenſe him what he hath given.* I do not underſtand thoſe for poor, which are vagabonds and beggars, but thoſe that labour to live, ſuch as are old and cannot travel, ſuch poor Widows and Fatherleſſe children as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travel to pay their Rents, and are driven to poverty by miſchance, and not by riot or careleſſe expences; on ſuch have thou compaſſion, and God will bleſſe thee for it. Make not the hungry ſoul ſorrowful, defer not thy gift to the needy, for if he curſe thee in the bitterneſſe of his ſoul, his prayer ſhall be heard of him that made him.

CHAP.

Chap. IX.

What Inconveniencies happen to ſuch as delight in Wine.

TAke eſpecial care that thou delight not in Wine, for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beaſt, decayeth health, poyſoneth the breath, deſtroyeth natural heat, brings a mans ſtomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, ſoon old, and deſpiſed of all wiſe and worthy men; hated in thy ſervants, in thy ſelf and companions: for it is a bewitching and infectious vice; And remember my words, that it were better for a man to be ſubject to any vice, than to it, for all other vanities and ſins are recovered, but a Drunkard will never ſhake off the delight of beaſtlineſſe; for the longer it poſſeſſeth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the elder he groweth, the

the more he ſhall be ſubject to it; for it dulleth the ſpirits, and deſtroyeth the body, as Ivie doth the old Tree; or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that ſuch a cureleſs Canker paſs not thy youth, nor ſuch a beaſtly infection thy old age; for then ſhall all thy life be but as the life of a beaſt, and after thy death, thou ſhalt onely leave a ſhamefull infamy to thy poſterity, who ſhall ſtudy to forget that ſuch a one was their Father. *Anacharſis* ſaith, *The firſt draught ſerveth for health, the ſecond for pleaſure, the third for ſhame, the fourth for madneſs*; but in youth there is not ſo much as one draught permitted; for it putteth fire to fire; and waſteth the natural heat and ſeed of generation. And therefore, except thou deſire to haſten thine end, take this for a general rule, That thou never adde any artificial heat to thy body by Wine or Spice, untill thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and the ſooner thou beginneſt to help nature, the ſooner ſhe will forſake thee, and truſt altogether to Art. *Who have misfortune*, ſaith *Solomon*,

lomon, who have ſorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, ſtripes without cauſe, and faintneſs of eyes? even they that ſit at Wine, and ſtrain themſelves to empty Cups: Plinie ſaith, *Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eye Watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a ſtinking breath in the morning, and to utter forgetfulneſs of all things.*

Whoſoever loveth Wine, ſhall not be truſted of any man; for he cannot keep a ſecret. Wine maketh man not onely a beaſt, but a mad man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children, and thy friends will deſpiſe thee. In driuk men care not what they ſay, what offence they give, they forget comlineſs, commit diſorders; and to conclude, offend all virtuous and honeſt company, and God moſt of all, to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain: and yet by drunkenneſs, and gluttony, (which is the drunkenneſs of feeding) we draw on, ſaith *Heſiod*, a ſwift, haſty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age. And S. *Auguſtine* deſcribeth Drunkenneſs in this manner: *Ebrietas eſt blandus Dæmon, dulce venenum,*

ſuave

ſuave peccatum; quam, qui habet, ſeipſum non habet, quam qui facit, peccatum non facit, ſed ipſi eſt peccatum.

Drunkenneſs is a flattering Devil, a ſweet poiſon, a pleaſant ſin; which whoſoever hath, hath not himſelf, which whoſoever doth commit, doth not commit ſin, but he himſelf is wholly ſin.

Innocentius ſaith, *Quid turpius ebrioſo, cui fœtor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit ſtulta, promit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur; nullum ſecretum ubi regnat ebrietas, & quid non aliud deſignat malum, fœcundi calices quem non fecere diſertum?*

What is filthier than a drunken man to whom there is ſtink in the mouth, trembling in the body; which uttereth fooliſh things; and revealeth ſecret things; whoſe mind is alienate, and face transformed? Whom have not plentifull cups made eloquent and talking?

When DIOGENES ſaw a houſe to be ſold, whereof the owner was given to drink, I thoughr at the laſt, quoth

quoth *Deogenes*, he would ſpue out a whole houſe; *Sciebam inquit, quod domus tandem emoveret.*

CHAP. X.

Let God be thy Protectour and Directour in all thy Actions.

NOw for the World, I know it too well, to perſwade thee to dive into the practiſes thereof, rather ſtand upon thine own guard againſt all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practiſe upon thee in thy conſcience, thy reputation, or thy purſe; reſolve that no man is wiſe or ſafe, but he that is honeſt.

Serve God, let him be the Authour of all thy actions, commend all thy endeavours to him that muſt either wither or proſper them, pleaſe him with prayer leaſt if he frown, he confound all thy fortunes and labours,

labours, like the drops of Rain on the sandy ground: let my experienced advice, and fatherly instructions, sink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all his ways, and fill thy heart with his grace.

FINIS.

The dutiful ADVICE OF A LOVING SON To his AGED FATHER.

SIR,

I Humbly beseech you, both in respect of the honour of God, your duty to his Church, and the comfort of your own soul, that you seriously consider in what tearms you stand, and weigh your self in a Christian ballance; taking for your counterpoise the judgements of God: Take heed in time that the Word

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TEKEL written of old againſt *Belſhazzar*, and interpreted by *Daniel*, be not verified in you, whoſe expoſition was, *You have been poized in the Scale, and found of too light weight.*

Remember that you are now in the waining, and the date of your pilgrimage well nigh expired, and now that it behoveth you to look towards your Countrey, your forees languiſheth, your ſenſes impair, your body droops, and on every ſide, the ruinous Cottage of your faint and feeble fleſh, threatneth the fall: And having ſo many harbingers of death to premoniſh you of your end, how can you but prepare for ſo dreadfull a ſtranger The young man may die quickly, but the old man cannot live long: the young mans life by caſualty may be abridged, but the old mans by no phyſick can be long adjourned, and therefore if green years ſhould ſometimes think of the grave, the thoughts of old age ſhould continually dwell in the ſame.

The prerogative of Infancy is innocency; of Child-hood, reverence; of Man-hood, maturity; and of Old age, wiſdome.

And seeing then that the chiefest properties of wisdom, are to be mindfull of things past, carefull for things present, and provident for things to come: Use now the priviledge of natures talent, to the benefit of your own soul, and procure hereafter to be wise in well doing, and watchful in the fore-sight of future harmes. To serve the world you are now unable; and though you were able, yet you have little cause to be willing, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtfull entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate fare-well.

You have long sowed in a field of flint, which could bring nothing forth but a crop of cares, and afflictions of spirit, rewarding your labours with remorse, and affording for your gain, eternal danger.

It is now more than a seasonable time to alter the course of so unthriving a husbandry, and to enter into the field of Gods Church, in which, sowing the seed of repentant sorrow, and watering them with the tears of humble contrition, you may hereafter reap a more beneficial harvest, and gather

ther the fruits of everlasting comfort.

Remember, I pray you, that your spring is spent, your summer over-past, you are now arrived at the fall of the leaf; yea, and winter colours have long since stained your hoary head.

Be not careless (saith Saint *Augustine*) *though our loving Lord bear long with offenders; for the longer he staies, not finding amendment, the sorer he will scourge, when he comes to judgement: And his patience in so long forbearing, is onely to lend us respite to repent, and not any wise to enlarge us leisure to sin.*

He that is tossed with variety of stormes, and cannot come to his desired Port, maketh not much way, but is much turmoiled: So, he that hath passed many years, and purchased little profit, hath a long being, but a short life: For, life is more to be measured by well doing, than by number of years; Seeing that most men by many dayes do but procure many deaths, and others in short space attain to the life of infinite ages. What is the body without the soul, but a corrupt carcass? And what is the soul without

God, but a Sepulchre of ſin?

If God be the Way, the Life, and the Truth, he that goeth without him, ſtrayeth; and he that liveth without him, dieth; and he that is not taught by him, erreth.

Well (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *God is our true and chiefeſt Life, from whom to revolt, is to fall; to whom to return, is to riſe; and in whom to ſtay, is to ſtand ſure.*

God is he, from whom to depart, is to die; to whom to repair, is to revive; and in whom to dwell, is life for ever. Be not then of the number of thoſe that begin not to live, till they be ready to die: and then after a foes deſert, come to crave of God a friends entertainment.

Some there be that think to ſnatch Heaven in a moment, which the beſt can ſcarce attain unto in the maintainance of many years; and when they have glutted themſelves with worldly delights, would jump from *Dives* Diet to *Lazarus* Crown, from the ſervice of Satan, to the ſolace of a Saint.

But be you well aſſured, that God is not ſo penurious of friends, as to hold himſelf and his Kingdome ſale-

able,

able for the refuse and reversions of their lives, who have sacrificed the principal thereof to his enemies, and their own brutish lust; then onely ceasing to offend, when the ability of offending is taken from them.

True it is, that a thief may be saved upon the cross, and mercy found at the last gasp: *But well* (saith S. *Augustine*) *though it be possible, yet it is scarce credible, that he in death should find favour, whose whole life deserved death; and that the repentance should be more excepted, that more for fear of hell, and love of himself, than for the love of God, and loathsomness of sin, cryeth for mercy.*

Wherefore, good SIR, make no longer delays; but being so near the breaking up of your mortal house, take time before extremity, to pacifie Gods anger.

Though you suffer the bud to be blasted, though you permitted the fruits to be perished, and the leaves to dry up; yea, though you let the boughs to wither, and the body of your tree to grow to decay, yet (alas) keep life in the root, for fear least the whole tree become fewel for hell fire;

For surely where the tree falleth, there it shall lie, whether towards the South, or to the North, to heaven, or to hell; and such sap as it bringeth forth, such fruit shall it ever bear.

Death hath already filed from you the better part of your natural forces, and left you now to be Lees, and remissalls of your wearyish and dying dayes.

The remainder whereof, as it cannot be long, so doth it warn you speedily to ransom your former losses; for what is age, but the Calends of death? and what importeth your present weakness, but an earnest of your approaching dissolution? you are now imbarked in your final voyage, and not far from the stint and period of your course.

Be not therefore unprovided of such appurtenances as are behovefull in so perplexed and perillous a journey; death it self is very fearfull, but much more terrible in respect of the judgement it summoneth us unto.

If you were now laid upon your departing bed, burthened with the heavy load of your former trespasses, and gored with the sting and price of a festered

ſtered conſcience; if you felt the cramp of death wreſting yout heart-ſtrings, and ready to make the ruefull divorce between body and ſoul: If you lay panting for breath, and ſwimming in a cold and pale ſweat, wearied with ſtrugling againſt your deadly pangs, O what would you give for an hours repentance; a what rate would you value a dayes contrition? Then worlds would be worthleſs in reſpect of a little reſpite; a ſhort truce would ſeem more precious then the treaſures of an Empire; nothing would be ſo much eſteemed as a ſhort time of truce, which now by days, and months, and years, is moſt laviſhly miſpent.

Oh how deeply would it wound your wofull heart, when looking back into your former life, you conſidered many hainous and horrible offences committed, many pious works and godly deeds omitted, and neither of both repented, your ſervice to God promiſed, and not performed.

Oh how unconſolable were your caſe, your friends being fled, your ſenſes affrighted, your thoughts amazed, your memory decayed, and your whole mind agaſt, and no part able to per-

form what it ſhould; but onely your guilty conſcience peſtered with ſin, that would continually upbraid you with many bitter accuſations.

Oh what would you think then, being ſtripped out of this mortall weed, and turned both out of ſervice and houſe-room of this wicked world, you are forced to enter into uncouth and ſtrange paths, and with unknown and ugly company, to be convented before a moſt ſevere Judge, carrying in your conſcience your Inditement, written in a perfect Regiſter of all your miſdeeds, when you ſhall ſee him prepared to give ſentence upon you, againſt whom you have ſo often tranſgreſſed, and the ſame to be your Umpire, whom by ſo many offences you have made your enemy, when not onely the Devil, but even the Angels would plead againſt you, and your own ſelf, in deſpight of your ſelf, be your own moſt ſharp appeacher.

Oh what would you do in theſe dreadfull exigents, when you ſaw the ghaſtly Dragon, and huge gulph of hell, breaking out with moſt fearfull flames, when you heard the weeping, wailing, and gnaſhing of teeth; the

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rage of those hellish monsters, the horrour of the place, the terrour of the company, and the eternity of all those torments.

Would you then think them wise that should delay in so weighty matters, and idlely play away the time allotted, to prevent these intollerable calamities? Would you then count it secure, to nurse in your own bosome so many Serpents as sins? and to foster in your soul so many malicious accusers, as mortal and horrible offences? Would you not think one life too little to repent in for so many, and so great iniquities, every one whereof were enough to throw you into those unspeakable and intollerable torments.

And why then (alas) do you not at the least devote that small remnant, and surplusage of these your latter dayes, procuring to make an atonement with God; and to free your Soul and Conscience from that corruption, which by your fall hath crept into it.

Those very eyes that behold, and read this discourse, those very eares that are attentive to hear it, and that very understanding that considereth

and conceiveth it, ſhall be cited as certain witneſſes of theſe rehearſed things. In your own body ſhall you experience theſe deadly Agonies; and in your Soul ſhall you feelingly find theſe tertible fears; yea, and your preſent eſtate is in danger of the deepeſt harms, if you do not the ſooner recover your ſelf into that fold and family of Gods faithful ſervants.

What have you gotten by being ſo long a cuſtomer to the World, but falſe ware, ſutable to the ſhop of ſuch a Merchant, whoſe traffick is toyl, whoſe wealth is traſh, and whoſe gain is miſery? What intereſt have you reaped, that might equal your detriment in grace and virtue? Or what could you find in the vail of tears, that was anſwerable to the favour of God, with loſs whereof you were contented to buy it?

You cannot now be inveighled with the paſſions of youth, which making a partiality of things, ſets no diſtance between counterfeit and currant; for theſe are now worn out of force, by tract of time are fallen into reproof, by tryal of their folly.

Oh let not the crazy cowardneſs of

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flesh and blood, daunt the prowess of an intelligent person, who by his wisdome cannot but discern how much more cause there is, and how much more needfull it is to serve God, than this wicked world.

But if it be the ungrounded presumption of the mercy of God, and the hope of his assistance at the last plunge (which indeed is the ordinary lure of the Devil to reclaim sinners from the pursuit of Repentance) Alas, that is too palpable a collusion to mislead a sound and serviceable man, howsoever it may prevail with sick and ill-affected judgements: who would rely upon eternal affairs, upon the gliding slipperinesse, and running streams of our uncertain life? who, but one of distempered wits, would offer fraud to the Decipherer of all thoughts; with whom dissemble we may to our cost, but to deceive him, is impossible.

Shall we esteem it cunning to rob the time for him, and bestow it on his enemies, who keepeth tale of the least minutes, and will examine in the end how every moment hath been imployed. It is a preposterous kind of policy, in any wise conceit to fight against

againſt God, till our weapons be blunted, our forces conſumed, our limbs impotent, and our beſt time ſpent; and then when we fall for faintneſs, and have fought our ſelves almoſt dead to preſume on his mercy.

Oh! no, no, the wounds of his moſt ſacred body, ſo often rubbed, and renewed by our ſins, and every part and parcel of our bodies ſo divers, and ſundry wayes abuſed, will be then as ſo many whet-ſtones and incentives, to edge and exaſperate his moſt juſt revenge againſt us.

It is a ſtrange piece of Art, and a very exorbitant courſe, when the Ship is ſound, the Pilot well, the Marriners ſtrong, the Gale favourable, and the Sea calm; to lie idely at the road, burning ſo ſeaſonable weather: And when the Ship leaketh, the Pilot ſick, the Marriners faint, the ſtorms boyſterous, and the Seas a turmoil of outragious Surges, then to launch forth, (hoiſe up ſail) and ſet out for a long voyage into a far Countrey.

Yet ſuch is the skill of theſe evening Repenters, who though in the ſoundneſs of their health, and perfect uſe of their reaſon, they cannot reſolve to

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cut the Cables, and weigh the Anchor that with-holds them from God.

Nevertheleſs, they feed themſelves with a ſtrong perſwaſion, that when they are aſtonied, their wits diſtracted, the underſtanding dusked, and the bodies and ſouls wracked, and tormented with the throbs and gripes of a mortal ſickneſs; then forſooth they will begin to think of their weightieſt matters, and become ſudden Saints, when they are ſcarce able to behave themſelves like reaſonable creatures.

No, no, if neither the Canon, Civil, nor the Common Law will allow that man (periſhed in judgement) ſhould make any Teſtament of his temporal ſubſtance; how can he that is animated with inward garboils of an unſettled conſcience, diſtrained with the wringing fits of his dying fleſh, maimed in all his ability, and circled in on every ſide with many and ſtrange incumbrances, be thought of due diſcretion to diſpoſe of his chiefeſt Jewell, which is his Soul? and to diſpatch the whole manage of all eternity, and of the treaſures of Heaven, in ſo ſhort a ſpurt?

No, no, they that will loyter in ſeed-time, and begin to ſowe when others reap;

reap; they that will riot out their health, and begin to cast their accounts when they are scarce able to speak; they that will slumber out the day, and enter their journey when the light doth fail them; let them blame their own folly, if they die in debt, and be eternal beggars, and fall headlong into the lap of endless perdition.

Let such listen to S. *Cyprian*'s lesson; *Let*, saith he, *the grievousness of our sore be the measure of our sorrow; let a deep wound have a deep and diligent cure; Let no mans Contrition be less than his Crime.*

FINIS.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* SCEPTICK.

The SCEPTICK *doth neither affirm, neither deny any Position: but doubteth of it, and opposeth his Reasons against that which is affirmed, or denied, to justifie his not consenting.*

THis first Reason ariseth, from the consideration of the great difference amongst living Creatures, both in the matter and manner of their Generations, and the several Constitutions of their bodies.

Some living creatures are by copulation, and some without it: and that either by Fire, as Crickets in furnaces; or corrupt water, as Gnats; or slime, as Frogs; or dirt, as Worms; or herbs, as Canker-worms; some of ashes, as Beetles some

ſome of trees, as the Worms *Pſenas* bred in the wild Fig-tree; ſome of living creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Waſps of Horſes. By Copulation many creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; ſome in the Egge, as Birds; ſome in an unſhapen piece of fleſh, as Bears. Theſe great differences cannot but cauſe a divers and contrary temperament, and quality in thoſe creatures, and conſequently, a great diverſity in their fantaſie and conceit; ſo that they apprehend one and the ſame object, yet they muſt do it after a divers manner: for it is not abſurd to affirm, that creatures differ ſo much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the ſame object.

See-ing. But this will more plainly appear, if the inſtruments of Senſe in the body be obſerved: for we ſhall find, that as theſe inſtruments are affected and diſpoſed, ſo doth the imagination conceit that which by them is connexed unto it. That very object which ſeemeth unto us White, unto them which have the Jaundiſe ſeemeth Pale, and Red unto thoſe whoſe Eyes are blood-ſhot. Foraſmuch then as living

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creatures have some white, some pale, some red eyes, why should not one & the same object seem to some white, to some red, to some pale? If a man rub his eye, the figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that those creatures which have a long and slanting Pupill of the eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, *&c.* do convey the fashion of that which they behold under another form to the imagination, than those that have round Pupils do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glass presenteth the outward object smoother, or greater, according to the making of the glass? If it be hollow, the object seemeth smaller than it is; if the glass be crooked, then the object seemeth long and narrow. And glasses there be, which dresent the head of him that looketh in them, downwards, and the heels upwards. Now then, seeing the eye, which is the instrument of Sight, in some living creatures is more outward, in some more hollow, in some plain, in some greater, in some less; it is very probable, that Fishes, Men, Lions and Dogs, whose eyes so much differ, do not conceive the self same object after the same

ſame manner, but diverſly, according to the diverſity of the eye, which offereth it unto the phantaſie.

Touching. The ſame reaſon holdeth in Touching: for ſeemeth it not abſurd to think, that thoſe creatures which are covered with Shells, thoſe which are covered with Scales, and which are covered with Hairs, and thoſe which are ſmooth, ſhould all be alike ſenſible in Touching? and every one of them conveigh the image, or quality of the ſame object which they touch; in the very ſame degree of heat or cold, of dryneſs or moyſture, roughneſs or ſmoothneſs, unto the imagination.

Hearing. So might it be ſhewed in Hearing: for how can we think that the Ear which hath a narrow paſſage, and the Ear which hath an open & wide paſſage, do receive the ſame ſound in the ſame degree? or that the Ear whoſe inſide is full of hair, doth hear in the ſame juſt meaſure, that the Ear doth whoſe inſide is ſmooth? Since experience ſheweth, that if we ſtop, or half ſtop our ears, the ſound cometh not to us in the ſame manner and degree that it doth if our Ears be open.

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Smelling. The like may be thought of Smelling: for man himself abounding with Fleagm, is otherwise affected in smelling, then he is, if the parts about the head be full of blood; and many things afford a delightfull smell to some living creatures, which smell to other living creatures seemeth not to be so.

Tasting. In the Tast the same reason appeareth; for to a rough and dry tongue, that very thing seemeth bitter (as in an Ague) which to the moister tongue seemeth not to be so. Divers creatures then having tongues drier, or moister, according to their several temperatures, when they tast the same thing, must need conceit it to be according as the instrument of their tast is affected, either bitter, or sweet, *&c.* For even as the hand in the striking of the Harp, though the stroke be one, yet causeth a sound, sometimes high, sometimes base, according to the quality of the string that is strucken: Even so one and the same outward object is diversly judged of, and conceited, according to the several and divers qualities of the instrument of Sense, which conveyeth it to the imagination. Oyntment is pleasing

ſing to Man; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oyl to man is profitable; but it killeth Bees and Waſps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, and Henbane Sows; but both of theſe hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants he is ſick; but the Bear being ſick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very ſame thing to the red eye ſeem red, to another pale, and white to another: If one and the ſame thing; ſeem not hot or cold, dry or moiſt, in the ſame degree to the ſeveral creatures which touch it: If one and the ſelf-ſame ſound ſeem more ſhrill to that creature which hath a narrow ear, and more baſe to him that hath an open ear: If the ſame thing, at the ſame time, ſeem to afford a pleaſant and diſpleaſant Smell to divers and ſeverall creatures: If that ſeem bitter in taſte to one, which to another ſeemeth ſweet, that to one hurtfull, which to another ſeemeth healthfull: I may report how theſe things appear divers to ſeveral creatures, and ſeem to produce divers effects.

But what they are in their own nature, whether red or white, bitter or ſweet, healthfull or hurtfull, I cannot tell. For why ſhould I preſume to prefer

ſer my conceit and imagination, in affirming that a thing is thus, or thus, in its own nature, becauſe it ſeemeth to me to be ſo, before the conceit of other living creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwiſe in each one nature, becauſe it appeareth otherwiſe to them then it doth to me?

They are living creatures as well as I: why then ſhould I condemn their conceit and fantaſie, concerning any thing, more than they may mine? They may be in the truth, and I in errour, as well as I in truth, and they erre. If my conceit muſt be believed before theirs, great reaſon that it be proved to be truer then theirs. And this proof muſt be either by demonſtration, or without it. Without it none will believe. Certainly, if by demonſtration, then this demonſtration muſt ſeem to be true, or not ſeem to be true. If it ſeem to be true, then will it be a queſtion, whether it be ſo indeed as it ſeemeth to be; and to alledge that for a certain proof, which is uncertain and queſtionable, ſeemeth abſurd.

If it be ſaid, that the imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward object, than the imagination of other li-

living creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (beſides that which is already ſaid, this is eaſily refuted by comparing of Man with other creatures.

It is confeſſed, the Dog excelleth Man in ſmell, and in hearing: and whereas there is ſaid to be a two-fold diſcourſe, one of the mind, another of the tongue, and that of the mind is ſaid to be exerciſed in chuſing that which is convenient, and refuſing that which is hurtfull in knowledge, juſtice, and thankfulneſs: This creature chuſeth his food, refuſeth the whip, fawneth on his Maſter, defendeth his houſe, revengeth himſelf of thoſe ſtrangers that hurt him. And *Homer* mentioneth *Argus* the Dog of *Ulyſſes*, who knew his Maſter, having been from home ſo many years, that at his return all the people of his houſe had forgot him. This creature, ſaith *Chryſippus*, is not void of Logick: for when in following any beaſt, he cometh to three ſeveral wayes, he ſmelleth to the one, and then to the ſecond; and if he find that the beaſt which he Purſueth be not fled one of theſe two wayes, he preſently without ſmelling any further to it, taketh the third way: which,

which, saith the same Philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus, the Beast must be gone either this, or this, or the other way; but neither this nor this; *Ergo*, the third: and so away he runneth.

If we consider his skill in Physick, it is sufficient to help himself: if he be wounded with a dart, he useth the help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanse the wound from corruption: he seemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of *Hyppocrates*, who saith, that the Rest of the Foot is the Physick of the Foot, and therefore if his Foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may rest: if he be sick, he giveth himself a Vomit by eating of Grass, and recovereth himself. The Dog then we see is plentifully furnished with inward discourse.

Now outward speech is not needfull to make a creature reasonable, else a dumb Man were an unreasonable Creature.

And do not Philosophers themselves reject this as an enemy to knowledge? and therefore they are *silent* when they are instructed; and yet even as Barbarous and strange people of speech, but we understand it not, neither do we per-

perceive any great difference in their words: but a differenee there ſeemeth to be, and they do expreſs their thoughts and meanings one to another by thoſe words. Even ſo thoſe creatures, which are commonly called unreaſonable, do ſeem to parlie one with another; and by their ſpeech do underſtand one the other. Do not Birds by one kind of ſpeech call their young ones, and by another cauſe them to hide themſelves? Do they not by their ſeveral voices expreſs their ſeveral paſſions of joy, of grief, of fear in ſuch manner, that their fellows underſtand them? Do they not by their voice foreſhew things to come? But we will return to that creature we firſt did inſtance in. The Dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. Theſe creatures then are not void of outward ſpeech.

If then theſe creatures excell Man in ſenſe, and are equal to him in inward and outward diſcourſe, why ſhould not their conceits and imaginations conveigh the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if ſo, then ſeeing their

their imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diverſly according to their divers temperaments. I may tell what the outward object ſeemeth to me, but what it ſeemeth to other creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it ſeemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted, that the judgement of Man in this caſe, is to be preferred before the judgement of Beaſts; yet in Men there is great difference, both in reſpect of the outward ſhape, and alſo of the temperature of their bodies: For the body of the *Scythian* diſſereth in ſhape from the body of the *Indian*: the reaſon of it ariſeth (ſay the Dogmaticks) from a predominancy of humours in the one more than in the other; and as ſeverall humours are predominant, ſo are the fantaſies and conceits ſeverally framed and effected: So that our Countrey-men delight in one thing, the *Indian* not in that, but in another which we regard not. This would not be, if their conceits and ours were both alike; for then we ſhould like that which they do, and they would diſlike that which we would diſlike. It is evident alſo, that men differ very much

in the temperature of their bodies, else why should some more easily digest Beef than shel-Fish? and other be mad for the time, if they drink wine? There was an old woman about *Arbeus*, which drunk three drams of *Cicuta* (every dram weighing sixty Barley corns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. *Lysis*, without hurt, took four drams of *Poppy*, and *Demophon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold when he stood in the Sun, or in a hot Bath, but very hot when he stood in the shadow. *Athenagoras* felt no pain if a Scorpion stung him; and the *Psilli* (a people in *Lybia*, whose bodies are venom to Serpents) if they be stung by Serpents, or Asps, receive no hurt at all.

The *Æthiopians*, which inhabit the river *Hydaspis*, do eat Serpents and Scorpions without danger. *Lotherius* a Chirurgion, at the smell of a Sturgeon, would be for the time mad. *Andron* of *Argos*, was so little thirsty, that without want of drink, he travelled through the hot and dry Countrey of *Lybia*. *Tyberius Cæsar* would see very well in the dark. *Aristotle* mentioneth of *Thratius*, who said, that the image of

of a Man went alwayes before him.

If then it be ſo, that there be ſuch differences in Men, this muſt be by reaſon of the divers temperatures they have, and divers diſpoſitions of their conceit and imagination; for, if one hate, and another love the very ſame thing, it muſt be that their fantaſies differ, elſe all would love it, or all would hate it. Theſe Men then, may tell how theſe things ſeem to them good or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to mens opinions, concerning one and the ſame matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we ſhall find this to be impoſſible; for, either we muſt believe what all men ſay of it, or what ſome men onely ſay of it. To believe what all men ſay of one & the ſame thing, is not poſſible; for then we ſhall believe Contrarieties; for ſome men ſay, that that very thing is pleaſant, which others ſay is diſpleaſant. If it be ſaid, we muſt believe onely ſome men, then let it be ſhewed who theſe ſome men are; for the *Platoniſts* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures Epicurus*, the *Pytaagorians Pythagoras*, and other Philoſophers the

maſters of their own Sects: ſo that it is doubtful, to which of all theſe we ſhall give credit. If it be ſaid, that we muſt credit the greateſt number; this ſeemeth childiſh: for there may be amongſt other Nations a greater number which deny that very point, which the greateſt number with us do affirm: ſo that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This argument ſeemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the Senſes of *Hearing*, *Seeing*, *Smelling*, *Touching*, and *Taſting* be conſidered; for that the Senſes differ, it ſeemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the art of Slanting is uſed) appear to the Eye, as if the parts of them were ſome higher, and ſome lower than the other, but to the Touch they ſeem not to be ſo.

Honey ſeemeth to the Tongue ſweet, but unpleaſant to the Eye: ſo Oyntment doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taſt. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurteth the Lungs. We may tell then, how theſe things ſeem to our ſeveral ſenſes, but what they are in their own nature we cannot tell: for why ſhould not a man cre-

credit any one of his ſenſes as well as the other?

Every object ſeemeth to be preſented diverſly unto the ſeveral inſtruments of Senſe. An Apple to the Touch ſeemeth ſmooth, ſweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of theſe qualities onely, or more than theſe qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the ſame blaſt of wind, varied according to the capacity of the ſeveral Pipes which receive it: even ſo the quality of the Apple may be but one, and this one quality may be varied, and ſeem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch ſmooth, and ſweet to the Smell, by reaſon of the divers inſtruments of the Senſe; which apprehend this one quality diverſly.

It may be alſo, that an Apple hath many qualities beſides; but we are not able to conceive them all, becauſe we want fit means and inſtruments to apprehend them. For ſuppoſe that ſome Man is born blind, and deaf, and yet can touch, ſmell, and taſte; this man will not think that there is any thing which may be ſeen or heard, becauſe he wanteth the Senſes of hearing and

ſeeing, he will onely think there are thoſe qualities in the object, which by reaſon of his three Senſes he conceiveth: Even ſo the Apple may have many more qualities; but we cannot come to know them, becauſe we want fit inſtruments for that purpoſe.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many inſtruments of Senſe, as there are ſenſible objects: I demand, What Nature? for there is a confuſed controverſie about the very Eſſence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing: ſo that what the quality of an Apple is, or whether it hath one quality or many, I know not.

Let a man alſo conſider, how many things that are ſeparated, and by themſelves, appear to differ from that which they ſeem to be, when they are in a maſs or lump; the ſcrapings of the goats horn ſeems white, but in the horn they ſeem black, but in the lump white: the ſtone *Tænarus*, being poliſhed, ſeemeth white, but unpoliſhed and rough, it ſeemeth yellow. Sands being ſeparated, appear rough to the Touch, but a great heap, ſoft. I may then report, how theſe things appear, but whether they are ſo indeed, I know not.

Sir

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

OBSERVATIONS

Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency *and* Opulency *of* Cities.

THat the onely way to civilize and reform the ſavage and barbarous lives, and corrupt manners of ſuch people, is,

1. To be dealt withall by gentle and loving converſation among them, to attain to the knowledge of their Language, and of the multitude of their ſpecial diſcommodities and inconveniencies in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired reputation amongſt them, upon a ſolid and true foundation of Piety, Juſtice, and Wiſdome, conjoyned with fortitude and power.

3. The third is, diſcreetly to poſſeſs them with a knowledge of the condition of their own eſtate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion* were ſaid to draw after them the beaſts of the field, *&c.*

And this muſt be firſt wrought by a viſible repreſentation, of the certainty, truth, and ſincerity of theſe, together with the felicity of a reformed eſtate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholeſome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themſelves and their poſterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perſwaded to withdraw and unite themſelves into ſeveral Colonies; that by it an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiouſly be had, and that they may ſo live together in civility, for the better ſuccour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more eaſily be inſtructed in the Chriſtian Faith, and governed under the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the King, or o-

other

ther ſuperiour power, under whom this Reformation is ſought. Which courſe the Stoick tells, that *Theſeus* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one City, that before lived diſperſedly in many Villages. The like is put in practiſe at this day by the *Portugals* and *Ieſuites*, that they may with leſſe difficulty and hinderance reform the rough behaviour, and ſavage life of the people of *Brazile*, who dwell ſcattered and diſperſed in caves and cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great built more than ſeventy Cities: *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Apamea*, to the honour of his wife; and five called *Laodicea*, in memory of his mother; and five called *Seleucia*, to the honour of himſelf.

Safety for Defence of the People and their Goods, in and near the Town.

Situation for safety and Plenty. IN the Situation of Cities, there is to be required a place of Safety, by some natural strength, commodiousnesse for Navigation, and Conduct, for the attaining of plenty of all good things, for the sustenance and comfort of mans life, and to draw trade and entercourse of other Nations; as if the same be situate in such sort, as many people have need to repair thither for some natural commodity or other of the Countrey, which by traffick and transportation of commodities, (whereof they have more plenty then will supply their own necessity) or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcity. And much better will it be, if the place afford some notable commoditie of it self, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the same: likewise, and withall,

be

be so fertile, pleasant, and healthfull of it self, that it may afford plenty of good things, for the delight and comfort of the Inhabitants.

Multitude of Inhabitants.

In former times, great Nations and Potentates have endured sharp conflicts, and held it high Policie, by all means to increase their Cities, with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the *Romans* ever furnished themselves with strength and power, to make their neighbour-people, of necessitie, willing to draw themselves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean strength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing alwaies the vanquished Captives to *Rome*, for the augmentation of that Citie.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the *Sabines*, condescended to Peace, upon condition that *Tatius* their King should come with all their people to dwell at *Rome*: *Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the *Capitol*, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his Seat and Palace.

The same course held *Tamberlane* the

the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Samarcanda*, ſtill bringing unto it the richeſt and wealthieſt Citizens he had ſubdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the City *Conſtantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thouſand Families, eſpecially Artificers out of the ſubdued Cities, as *Mahomet* the Great from *Trebizond*, *Selim* the Firſt from *Cairo*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

Authority and neceſſity, without the conſideration of the conveniencies, and commodiouſneſs of Situation above mentioned, are of ſmall moment in the foundation of a City; thereby onely it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in Magnificency or Opulency: for if Profit, Height, and Delight go not companions therewith, no Authority or neceſſity can retain much People or Wealth.

But if the place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforeſaid conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicity of this life; then, no doubt, the ſame is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the ſame, whereby it may, by the help of Arts and Induſtry, in time

time, become magnificent and glorious

Unto the good estate, greatness, and glory of a City, these things hereafter mentioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance. *viz.*

Religion. Religion, which is of such force and might, to amplifie Cities, and Dominions, and of such attractive virtue to repleniſh the same with people and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience, as none can be more; for without adoration of some Deity, no Commonwealth can subsist.

Witness *Ierusalem*, *Rome*, *Constantinople*, and all other Cities that have been famous for the profession of Religion, or Divine Worship. And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this world of more efficacy and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of Men, than God. which is the *summum bonum*. He is carefully desired, and continually sought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their last end and refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to Flowers, Trees to bear Fruit, Beasts to present their kind, and Man in seeking his tranquility and everlasting glo-

ry

But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature as the sence and understanding of Man cannot conceive it, every man directly turns himself to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance. And to such persons whom he seemeth more especially to have revealed himself.

Academies. Academies, & Schools of Learning with convenient immunities and priviledges for Scholars, and means for Recreation for Delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a citie: forasmuch as men long for honour and profit, and of Arts and liberal Sciences some bring certain wealth to men, and some promotions and preferments to honourable Functions: for by this means, not only young men, & those that are desirous of Learning and Virtue in the same Commonwealth, will be retained in their own Countrey; but also strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if occasion be given to Scholars and Students, to rise to degrees of Honour and Preferment by their learned Exercises, and that by the policie of the same Citie, good

Wits

Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the ſame Academies and Schools be ſtored with plenty of Doctours and learned men, of great fame and reputation.

Courts of Iuſtice. Courts of Iuſtice, with due execution of the ſame in a City, do much enable, enlarge, & enrich it; for it faſteneth a great liking in a City to vertuous men, and ſuch as be wealthy, that therein they may be free, and in ſafety from the violence of the oppreſſions of covetous and wicked men: and there will be rather reſort thither to inhabit, or traffick there, as occaſious may miniſter unto them. And many others that have cauſe of ſuit will repair thither, whereas they may be ſure to find Iudgement and Iuſtice duely executed, whereby the City muſt needs be enlarged and enriched: for our lives, and all that ever we have are in the hands of Juſtice: ſo that if Juſtice be not adminiſtred amongſt men, in vain is there any ſociety and commerce, or any other thing can be profitable or ſafe; ſo much is love and charity failed, and iniquity increaſed upon the face of the earth.

The

Artificers. The excellency and multitude likewise of Artificers exercising their manual Arts and Trades, do marvellously encrease and enrich a State, whereof some are necessary, some commodions for a civil life, other some are of pomp and ornament, and other some of delicacy and curiosity, whereof doth follow concourse of people that labour and work, and current money which doth enrich and supply Materials for Labourers, and work-men, buying and selling, rranſportation from place to place, which doth employ and encrease the artificiousand cunning parts of the wit of Man; and this art and exquisiteneſſe of workman-ſhip and skill is ſo powerful herein, that it far excells the ſimple commodities and materials that Nature produceth; and is alone ſufficient of it ſelf to make a City or State both magnificent and glorious: and the daily experience we have in theſe our dayes, and in former times, doth manifeſtly approve the ſame, and make evident without all contradiction.

Some natural benefits that a City alſo may have for the excellency of Art, or

or workmanſhip of ſome ſpecial commodities above any other place, either through the quality of the Water, or other matter whatſoever, or ſome hidden myſtery of the inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a City.

The command of a countrey that affordeth ſome proper commodity, is of it ſelf ſufficient mightily to bring a City to great wealth, and to advance it to great power, and draweth thereby dependency and concourſe, much advantagious alſo, as well for the publick weal, as the private perſon.

A City alſo may be Lord of much Merchandiſe and Traffick, by means of the commodious ſituation to many Nations, to whom it ſerveth and hath relation to, as Ware-houſes, Roomth and Store-houſes, by reaſon whereof, the Nations adjoyning do uſe to reſort thereunto, to make their proviſions of ſuch things. And this conſiſteth in the largeneſs of the Ports, the fitneſs of the Gulphs and Creeks of the Seas, in the Navigable Rivers and Channells, and the plain and ſafe wayes that leadeth to the City,

or

or that come, or turn by or near it.

Privi-ledge. Priviledge and freedome from Cuſtomes and Exactions, doth greatly increaſe the Trade, and draw inhabitants to a City, whereby the ſame may become both rich and powerfull; whereof the Marts and Fairs, and Markets bear good witneſs, which are frequented with great concourſe of people, Trades-men, and Merchants, for no other reſpect, but that they are there free and frank from Cuſtomes and Exactions. And the Cities in *Flanders* are lively teſtimonies hereof, where the Cuſtomes are very ſmall.

By reaſon whereof, all ſuch as have erected new Cities in times paſt to draw concourſe of people unto it, have granted large immunities, and priviledges at the leaſt, to the firſt inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have reſtored Cities emptied with Plague, conſumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famine, or ſome other ſcourge of God. In reſpect whereof, freedome of Cities hath been often granted to ſuch as would with their Families inhabit there, or would bring Corn and other

neceſſaries

neceſſaries for proviſion of victual.

The *Romans*, to increaſe their Cities, made the Towns that well deſerved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers of their franchiſes and priviledges.

The firſt deviſes of Rome *to allure ſtrangers, was a* Sanctuary.

The firſt means the *Romans* uſed to allure people to make their habitatiens rather in *Rome* than elſewhere, was the opening the Sanctuary, & giving liberty & freedom to all that would come unto them. In reſpect whereof, thete flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of people that were either racked with exactions, thruſt out of their habitations, or unſafe, or unſure for their lives in their own Countries for Religion ſake.

The very ſame reaſon in a manner hath increaſed ſo much the City of *Geneva*: foraſmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all comers out of *France* and *Italy*, that have either forſaken, or been exiled thhir Countries for Religions ſake.

Triumphs. Likewiſe, triumphs, goodly buildings, batels onthe water, fights of ſword-players, huntingof wild beaſts,

beasts, publick shows and sights, plays solemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many other such things to draw the curious people to a City inspeakably, which leaves behind them much treasure, and for such cause will rather settle themselves to inhabit there, than in other places. This was also the devise of *Rome* iu her infancy to enlarge her self.

The Causes that concerns the Magnificence of a City.

TO confirm a City in her greatnesse, *Iustice*, *Peace*, and *Plenty*, are the undoubted means: for *Iustice* assureth every man his own: *Peace* causeth all Arts and Negotiation whatsoever to flouriſh: and *Plenty* of food and victuall, that sustaineth the life of Man with ease and much contentment. To conclude, all those things that cause the Greatnesse of a City, are also fit to conserve the same.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's Seat of GOVERNMENT.

That the Seat of Government *is upheld by the two great pillars thereof*, viz. *Civil* Justice *and Martial* Policie, *which are framed out of* Husbandry, Merchandise, *and* Gentry *of this Kingdome.*

THey say, that the goodliest CEDARS which grow on the high mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their roots between the clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those Kings of Trees, so hath Reason taught the Kings of Men, to root themselves in the hardy Hearts of their faithful Subjects. And as those

Kings

kings of Trees have large Tops, ſo have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the firſt would ſoon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; ſo would the other eaſily tytter, were they not faſtened on their heads, with the ſtrong chains of Civil *Iuſtice* and Martial *Diſcipline*.

1. For the adminiſtration of the firſt, even God himſelf hath given direction, *Iudges and Officers ſhalt thou make, which ſhall judge the People with righteous Iudgements*.

2. The ſecond is grounded on the firſt Laws of the World and Nature, that force is to be repelled by Force. Yea *Moſes* in the 20. of *Exodus*, and elſewhere, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuſe in both, ſo have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdoms and States long before our dayes: for that Policie hath never yet prevailed (though it hath ſerved for a ſhort ſeaſon) where the counterfeit hath been ſold for the natural, and the outward ſhew and formality for the ſubſtance. Of the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth, the

the writers of that age witneſs, that he uſed but the name of *Iuſtice* and good order, being more learned in the Law, than in doing right, and that he had by farre more knowledge than conſcience. Certainly the unjuſt Magiſtrate that fancieth to himſelf a ſolid and untranſparable body of Gold, every ordinary wit can vitrifie, and make tranſparent pieces, and diſcern their corruptions; howſoever, becauſe not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the mean while it is alſo true, That conſtrained diſſimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppreſſed, either in publick eſtates, or in private perſons, whether the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leiſure of her lurking, but ſharpen her teeth, the voluntary being no leſs baſe than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England* and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* and their people, between the *Sicilians* and the *French*, between the *Dolphin* and *Iohn* of *Burgoign*, between *Charles* the Ninth and the *French* Proteſtants, and between *Henry* the Third, his Succeſſor, and the Lords of *Guiſe*, hereof in place of more particulars,

lars, the whole world may ſerve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geography, to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is eaſie enough to conceive the beſt uſe of it, and by which it hath maintained it ſelf in laſting happineſs; it hath ever acquired more honour by perſwading, than by beating: for as the bonds of Reaſon and Love are immortal, ſo do all other chains or cords both ruſty and rot noble parts of their own royal and politick Bodies.

Huſband men. But we will forbear for a while to ſtretch this firſt ſtring of Civil *Juſtice:* for in reſpect of the firſt ſort of Men, *to wit*, of thoſe that live by their own labour, they have never been diſpleaſed where they have been ſuffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels; *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine is all wherein they ſeek their certainty and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit trees of the Land, which God in *Denteronomie* commanded to be ſpared, they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the beſt of their grain to the eaſefull and idle.

For

Mer-chants. For the second sort, which are the Merchants, as the first feed the Kingdome, so do these enrich it, yea, their trades, especially those which are forcible, are not the least part of our Martial *Policy*, as hereafter proved; & to do them right, they have in all ages and times assisted the Kings of this Land, not only with great sums of money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their enterprises beyond the seas. The second have seldome or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions, hath ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations; give them but the Commission of Reprisal, they will either right themselves, or sit down with their own loss without complaint.

Gen-try. 3. The third sort, which are the Gentry of *England*, these being neither seated in the lowest grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest Mountains, and thereby in danger to be torn with tempests; but the Vallies between both have their parts in the inferiour Iustice, and being spread over all, are the Garrisons of good order throughout the Realm.

FINIS.

SIR *WALTER RALEIGH's* OBSERVATIONS

TOUCHING

Trade and Commerce with the HOLLANDER, and other Nations, as it was presented to King JAMES.

Wherein is proved, that our Sea and Land Commodities serve to inrich and strengthen other Countries against our own.

With other Passages of high Concernment.

LONDON,
Printed for *Margaret Shears*, at the sign of the *Bible* in *Covent-Garden*.
1664.

May it please your most Excellent

MAJESTY.

ACcording to my duty, I am imboldned to put your Majesty in mind, that about fourteen or fifteen years past, I presented you a Book of such exttaordinary importance, for honour and profit of your Majesty and posterity, and doubting that it hath been laid aside and not considered of, I am encouraged (under your Majesties pardon) to present unto you one more, consisting of five propositions; neither are they grounded upon vain or idle grounds, but upon the fruition of those wonderful blessings, wherewith God hath endued your Majesties Sea and Land; by which means, you may not onely enrich and fill your Coffers, but also encrease such might and strength (as shall appear, if it may stand with your Majesties good liking to put the same in execution in the true and right

form :) so that there is no doubt but it will make you in short time a Prince of such power, so great, as shall make all the Princes your neighbours, as well glad of your friendship as fearful to offend you. That this is so, I humbly desire that your Majesty will vouchsafe to peruse this advertisement with that care and judgement which God hath given you.

Most humbly praying your Majesty, that whereas I presented these five Propositions together, as in their own natures, joyntly depending one of another, and so linked together, as the distraction of any one will be an apparent maim and disabling to the rest. That your Majesty would be pleased that they may not be separated, but all handled together jointly and severally by Commissioners with as much speed and secrecy as can be, and made fit to be reported to your Majesty, whereby I may be the better able to perform to your Highnesse that which I have promised & will perform upon my life, if I be not prevented by some that may seek to hinder the honour and profit of your Majesty for their own private ends.

The

"THe true ground, courſe and form
"herein mentioned, ſhall appear
"how other Countreys make them-
"ſelves powerfull and rich in all kinds
"by Merchandize, Manufactory, and
"fulneſs of Trade, having no Commo-
"dities in their own Countrey grow-
"ing to do it withall.

"And herein likewiſe ſhall appear
"how eaſie it is to draw the wealth
"and ſtrength of other Countreys to
"your Kingdom, and what royal, rich,
"and plentifull means God hath given
"this Land to do it (which cannot be
"denied) for ſupport of traffick and
"continual emploiment of your Peo-
"ple, for repleniſhing of your Maje-
"ſties Coffers.

"And if I were not fully aſſured to
"improve your native Commodities,
"with other traffick, three millions of
"pounds more yearly then now they
"are, and to bring not onely to your
"Majeſties Coffers within the ſpace of
"two or three years, near two millions
"of pounds, but to encreaſe your Re-
"venues many thouſands yearly, and
"to pleaſe and greatly profit your
"people, I would not have undera-
"ken ſo great a work: All which will

" grow by advancement of all kind of
" Merchandizing to the uttermoſt,
" thereby to bring Manufactory into
" the Kingdome, and to ſet on work all
" ſorts of people in the Realm, as o-
" ther Nations do, which raiſe their
" greatneſs by the abundance of your
" native commodities: Whilſt we are
" parling and diſputing whether it be
" good for us or not.

May

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent MAJESTY.

I Have diligently in my Travells obſerved how the Countreys herein mentioned do grow potent with abundance of all things to ſerve themſelves and other Nations, where nothing groweth, and that their never dried fountains of wealth, by which they raiſe their eſtate to ſuch an admirable height, as that they are at this day even a wonder to the world, proceedeth from your Majeſties Seas and Lands.

I thus moved, began to dive into the depth of their policies and circumventing practices, whereby they drain and ſtill covet to exhauſt the wealth and coin of this Kingdome, and ſo with our own commodities to weaken us, and finally beat us quite out of trading in other Countreys; I found that they more fully obtained theſe their purpoſes by their

convenient priviledges, & settled constitutions, then *England* with all the Laws, & superabundance of homebred commodities which God hath vouchsafed your Sea and Land: And these, & other mentioned in this book, are the urgent causes that provoked me in my love and bounden duty to your Majesty and my Countrey, to address my former Books to your Princely hands and consideration.

By which Priviledges they draw multitudes of Merchants to Trade with them, and many other Nations to inhabit amongst them, which makes them populous, and there they make Storehouses of all foreign Commodities, wherewith upon every occasion of scarcity and dearth, they are able to furnish foreign Countries with plenty of those Commodities, which before in time of plenty they ingrossed, and brought home from the same places, which doth greatly augment power and treasure to their State, besides the common good in setting their poor and people on work.

To which Priviledges they add smalness of custome, and liberty of Trade, which maketh them flourish, and their Coun-

Countrey ſo plentifull of all kind of Coyn and Commodities, where little or nothing groweth, and their Merchants ſo flouriſh, that when a loſs cometh they ſcarce feel it.

To bring this to paſs, they have many advantages of us; the one is, by their faſhioned Ships called *Boyers*, *Hoybarks*, *Hoyes*, and others, that are made to hold great bulk of Merchandize, and to ſail with a few men for profit; For example, though an *Engliſh* Ship of two hundred Tuns, and a *Holland* Ship, or any other of the petty States of the ſame burthen be at *Danske* or any other place beyond the Seas, or in *England*, they doe ſerve the Merchant better cheap by one hundred pounds in his fraight, then we can, by reaſon he hoth but nine or ten Mariners, and we near thirty; thus he ſaveth twenty mens meat and wages in a voyage, and ſo in all other their Ships, according to their burden, by which means they are fraighted whereſoever they come, to great profit, whilſt our Ships lie ſtill and decay, or go to *Newcaſtle* for Coals.

Of this their ſmallneſs of Cuſtome inwards and outwards, we have daily experi-

experience: for if two *English* Ships, or two of any other Nation be at *Burdeaux*, both laden with Wine of three hundred Tuns apice, the one bound for *Holland*, or any other petty States, the other for *England*, the Merchant ſhall pay about nine hundred pound cuſtome here, and other duties, when the other in *Holland*, or any other petty States, ſhall be cleared for leſſe then fiftie pound, and ſo in all other wares and Merchandizes accordingly, which drawes all Nations to traffick with them; and although it ſeems but ſmall duties which they receive, yet the multitudes of all kind of Commodities and Coyn that is brought in by themſelves and others, and carried out by themſelves and others, is ſo great, that they receive more cuſtome and duties to the State, by the greatneſs of their Commerce in one year, then *England* doth in two years; for the one hundredth part of Commodities are not ſpent in *Holland*, but vented into other Countreys, which maketh all the Countrey Merchants to buy and ſell, and encreaſe Ships and Mariners to tranſport them.

My travells and meaning is not to diminiſh

diminiſh (neither hath been) your Majeſties Reveuues, but exceedingly to encreaſe them, as ſhall appear, and yet pleaſe the people, as in other parts they do.

Notwithſtanding, their Exciſes bring them in great Revenues, yet whoſoever will adventure to *Burdeaux* but for ſix Tuns of Wine, ſhall be free of Exciſe in his own houſe all the year long; and this is done of purpoſe to animate and encreaſe Merchants in their Countrey.

And if it happen that a Trade be ſtopped by any forreign Nation, which they heretofore uſually had, or hear of any good Trading which they never had, they will hinder others, and ſeek either by favour, money, or force, to open the gap of Traffick for advancement of Trade amongſt themſelves, and employment of their people.

And when there is a new courſe or Trade erected, they give free cuſtome inwards and outwards, for the better maintenance of Navigation, and encouragement of the people to that buſineſſe.

Thus they and others glean the wealth and ſtrength from us to themſelves,

ſelves, and theſe reaſons following procure them this advantage of us:

1. The Merchant Staplers which make all things in abundance, by reaſon of their Store-houſes continually repleniſhed with all kind of Commodities.

2. The liberty of free Traffick for ſtrangers to buy and ſell in *Holland*, and other Countreys and States, as if they were free born, maketh great intercourſe.

3. The ſmall duties levied upon Merchants, draws all Nations to trade with them.

4. Their faſhioned Ships continually fraighted before ours by reaſon of their few Mariners, and great bulk, ſerving the Merchant cheap.

5. Their forwardneſſe to further all manner of trading.

6. Their wonderful imployment of their Buſſes for fiſhing, and the great returns they make.

7. Their giving free Cuſtome inwards and outwards, for any new erected Trade, by means whereof they have gotten already almoſt the ſole Trade into their hands.

All Nations may buy and ſell freely in

in *France*, and there is free cuſtome outwards twice or thrice in a year, at which time our Merchants themſelves do make their great ſales of *Engliſh* Commodities, and do buy and lade their great bulk of *French* Commodities to ſerve for the whole year; and in *Rochel* in *France*, and in *Britain*, free cuſtome all the year long, except ſome ſmall Toll, which makes great Traffick, and maketh them flouriſh.

In *Denmark* to encourage and inrich the Merchants, and to increaſe Ships and Marines, free cuſtome all the year long for their own Merchants, except one Moneth between *Bartholomew tide* and *Michaelmaſs*.

The *Hauuce* Towns have advantage of us, as *Holland*, and other petty States have, and in moſt things imitate them, which makes them exceeding rich and plentifull of all kind of Commodities and Coyn, and ſo ſtrong in Ships and Mariners, that ſome of their Townes have near one thouſand ſail of Ships.

The Merchandizes of *France*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Turkey*, *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*, are tranſported moſt by the *Hollanders* and other petty States into the *Eaſt* and *North-Eaſt* Kingdomes of Pomer-

merland, *Spruceland*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweedland*, *Leifland*, and *Germany*, and the Merchandiſes brought from the laſt mentioned Kingdomes, being wonderfull many, are likewiſe by the *Hollanders* and other petty States moſt tranſported into the *Southern* and *Weſtern* Dominions, and yet the ſituation of *England* lyeth far better for a Storehouſe to ſerve the *Southern-Eaſt* and *North-Eaſt* Regions, than theirs doth, and hath far better means to do it, if we will bend our courſe for it.

No ſooner a dearth of Fiſh, Wine, or Corn here, and other Merchandize, but forthwith the *Embdeners*, *Hamburgers*, and *Hollanders* out of their Storehouſes lade fifty, or one hundred Ships, or more, diſperſing themſelves round about this Kingdome, and carry away great ſtore of coyn and wealth for little commodity in thoſe times of dearth, by which means they ſuck our Commonwealth of their riches, cut down our Merchants, and decay our Navigation, not with their natural commodities which grow in their own Countreys, but the Merchandizes of other Countreys and Kingdomes.

Therefore it is far more eaſier to ſerve

ſerve our ſelves, hold up our Merchants, and encreaſe our Ships and Mariners, and ſtrengthen the *Kingdome*, and not onely keep our money in our own Realm, which other Nations ſtill rob us of, but bring in theirs, who carry ours away, and make the bank of Coyn and Store-houſe to ſerve other Nations as well and far better cheap than they.

Amſterdam is never without ſeven hundred thouſand Quarters of Corn, beſides the plenty they daily vent, and none of this groweth in their own Countrey: a Dearth in *England*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Portugal*, and other places, is truly obſerved to enrich *Holland* ſeven years after, and likewiſe the petty States.

For example, the laſt Dearth ſix yeares paſt, the *Hamburgers*, *Embdeners*, and *Hollanders* out of their Store-houſes furniſhed this *Kingdome*, and from *Southampton*, *Exeter*, and *Briſtow*, in a year and a half they carried away near two hundred thouſand pounds from theſe parts onely; then what great quantity of Coyns was tranſported round about your *Kingdome* from every Port Town, and from your City of

of *London*, and other Cities cannot be esteemed so little as two millions, to the great decay of your Kingdome, and impoverishing your people, discredit to the Company of Merchants, and dishonour to the Land, that any Nation that have no Corn in their own Countrey growing, should serve this famous Kingdome, which God hath so inabled within it self.

They have a continual Trade into this Kingdome with five or six hundred Ships yearly, with Merchandizes of other Countreys and Kingdomes, and store them up in store-houses here untill the prices rise to their mindes, and we trade not with fifty Ships into their Countrey in a year, and the said number are about this Realm every Eastern winde for the most part to lade Coales and other Merchandize.

Unlesse there be a scarcity, or dearth, or high prices, all Merchants do forbear that place where great impositions are laid upon the Merchandize, and those places slenderly shipped, ill served, and at dear rates, and oftentimes in scarcity, and want employment for the people; and those petty States finding truly by experience, that small duties

duties impoſed upon Merchandiſe draw all Traffick unto them, and free liberty for ſtrangers to buy and ſell doth make continuall Mart; therefore what Exciſes or Impoſitions are laid upon the common people, yet they ſtill eaſe, uphold, and maintain the Merchants by all poſſible means, of purpoſe to draw the wealth and ſtrength of Chriſtendome to themſelves: whereby it appeareth, though the duties be but ſmall, yet the cuſtomes for going out and coming in do ſo abound, that they increaſe their Revenues greatly, and make profit, plenty, and employment of all ſorts by Sea and Land, to ſerve themſelves and other Nations, as is admirable to behold: And likewiſe the great commerce which groweth by the ſame means, enableth the common people to bear their burthen laid upon them, and yet they grow rich by reaſon of the great commerce and Trade, occaſioned by their convenient priviledges, and commodious conſtitutions.

There was an intercourſe of Traffick in *Genoa*, and there was the flower of commerce, as appeareth by their ancient Records, and their ſumptuous Buildings. For all Nations traded with Mer-

Merchandiſe to them, and there was the Store-houſe of all *Italy* and other places; but after they had ſet a great cuſtome of xvi. *per cent.* all Nations left trading with them, which made them give themſelves wholly to uſury, and at this day we have not three Ships go there in a year: but to the contrary the Duke of *Florence* builded *Ligorn*, and ſet ſmall cuſtome upon Merchandiſe, and gave them great and pleaſing priviledges, which hath made a rich and ſtrong City with a flouriſhing State.

Furthermore touching ſome particulars needfull to be conſidered, of the mighty huge fiſhing that ever could be heard of in the world, is upon the coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; but the great Fiſhery is in the *Low-Countreys*, and other petty States, wherewith they ſerve themſelves and all Chriſtendome, as ſhall appear.

In four Towns in the Eaſt Kingdomes within the *Sound*, *Quinsbrough*, *Elbing*, *Statten*, and *Dantzick*, there are carried and vented in a year, between thirty or forty thouſand Laſt of Herrings, ſold but at fifteen or ſixteen pounds the Laſt, is about 620000 l. and we none.

Be-

Beſides *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweathen*, *Leifland*, *Rye*, *Nevill*, the *Nerve*, and other Port Townes within the *Sound*, there is carried and vented above 10000 Laſts of Herrings, ſold at fifteen or ſixteen pounds the Laſt, is 170000 pounds; more yearly in ſuch requeſt are our Herrings there, that they are oftentimes ſold for 20 24. 30. and 36. pound the Laſt, and we ſend not one Barrel into all thoſe Eaſt Countreys.

The *Hollanders* ſent into *Ruſsia* near fifteen hundred Laſt of Herrings, ſold about thirty ſhillings the Barrell, amounteth to 27000 pound, and we but about twenty or thirty Laſts.

To *Stoade*, *Hambrough*, *Breame*, and *Embden* upon the River of *Elve*, *Weaſer*, and *Embs*, are carried and vented of Fiſh and Herrings about 6000 Laſts, ſold about fifteen or ſixteen pound the Laſt, is 100000 l. and we none.

Cleaveland, *Gulickland*, up the River of *Rhine* to *Cullen*, *Frankford*, or the *Maine*, and ſo over all *Germany*, is carried and vented Fiſh and Herrings near 22000 Laſts, ſold at twenty pound the Laſt, is 44000 l. and we none.

Up

Up the River of *Maze*, *Leigh*, *Maſtrith*, *Vendlow*, *Sutphin*, *Deventer*, *Campen*, *Swoole*, and all over *Lukeland* is carried and vented 7000 Laſts of Herrings, ſold at twenty pound the Laſt, is 140000 pound, and we none.

To *Gilderland*, *Artois*, *Henault*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, up the River of *Antwerp*, all over the Arch-Dukes Countreys are carried and vented between eight or nine thouſand Laſts, ſold at eighteen pound the Laſt, is 171000 l. and we none.

The *Hollanders* and others carried of all ſorts of Herrings to *Roan* onely in one year, beſides all other parts of *France* 50000 Laſts of Herrings ſold at twenty pound the Laſt, is 1000000 l. and we not one hundred Laſt thither: they are ſold oftentimes there for twenty, and four and twenty, and thirty pound the Laſt.

Between *Chriſtmaſs* and *Lent*, the duties for Fiſh and Herrings came to 15000 Crowns at *Roan* onely that year the late Queen deceaſed; Sir *Thomas Parrie* was Agent there then, and S. *Savors* his man knowes it to be true, who handled the buſineſs for pulling down the Impoſitions then, what

what great ſummes of money came to all in the Port Towns to inrich the *French Kings* Coffers, and to all the Kings and States throughout Chriſtendome to inrich their Coffets; beſides the great quantity vented to the Straights, and the multitude ſpent in the *Low-Countries*, where there is likewiſe ſold for many a hundred thouſand pound more yearly, is neceſſary to be remembred; and the ſtream to be turned to the good of this Kingdome, to whoſe Sea coaſts God onely hath ſent and given theſe great bleſſings and multitude of riches for us to take, howſoever it hath been neglected to the hurt of this Kingdome, that any Nation ſhould carry away out of this Kindome yearly great maſſes of money for Fiſh taken in our Seas, and ſold again by them to us, which muſt needs be a great diſhonour to our Nation, and hindrance to this Realm.

From any Port Town of any Kingdome within Chriſtendome, the Bridge-maſter or the Wharfmaſter for twenty ſhillings a year will deliver a true Note of the number of Laſts of Herrings brought to their Wharfes, and their prices commonly they are ſold at, but the num-

number brought to *Danske*, *Cullen*, *Roterdam*, and *Enchuſen* is ſo great, as it will coſt three, four, or five pound for a true Note.

The abundance of Corn groweth in the *Eaſt Kingdomes*, but the great Store-houſes for grain to ſerve Chriſtendom and the Heathen Countries in time of dearth, is in the *Low-Countries*, wherewith upon every occaſion of ſcarcity and dearth they do inrich themſelves ſeven years after, imploy their people, and get great fraights for their Ships in other Countries, and we not one in that courſe.

The mighty Vineyards and ſtore of Salt is in *France* and *Spain*; but the great Vintage and Staple of Salt is in the *Low-Countries*, and they ſend near one thouſand ſail of ſhips with Salt and Wine onely into the Eaſt Kingdome yearly, beſides other places, and we not one in that courſe.

The exceeding Groves of VVood are in the *Eaſt* Kingdomes, but the huge piles of *Wainſcot*, *Clapboard*, *Fir-deal*, *Maſts*, and Timber is in the *Low-Countries*, where none grow, wherewith they ſerve themſelves, and other parts, and this Kingdome with theſe Commodities;

ties; they have five or ſix hundred great long ſhips continually uſing that Trade, and we none in that courſe.

The *Wool*, *Cloth*, *Lead*, *Tin*, and divers other Commodities are in *England*, but by means of our *Wool* and *Cloth* going out ruff, undreſt, and undied, there is an exceeding *Manufactory* and *Drapery* in the *Low-Countries*, wherewith they ſerve themſelves, and other Nations, and advance greatly the Imployment of their people at home, and Traffick abroad, and put down ours in Foreign parts, where our Merchants trade unto, with our own Commodities.

We ſend into the *Eaſt* Kingdoms yearly but one hundred ſhips and our Trade chiefly dependeth upon three Towns, *Elbing*, *Kingsborough*, and *Danske*, for making our Sails, and buying their Commodities ſent into this Realm at dear rates, which this Kingdome bears the burthen of.

The *Low-Countries* ſend into the *Eaſt* Kingdoms yearly about three thouſand ſhips, trading into every City and Port Town, taking the advantage, and venting their Commodities to exceeding profit, and buying and lading their

ſhips with plenty of thoſe Commodities, which they have from every of thoſe Towns 20 *per cent.* better cheap then we, by reaſon of the difference of the Coyn, and their *fiſh* yields ready money, which greatly advanceth their Trffiek, and decayeth ours.

They ſend into *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, from the *Eaſt* Kingdomes that paſſeth through the *Sound*, and through your narrow *Seas*, yearly of the *Eaſt* Countrey Commodities about two thouſand ſhips, and we none in that courſe.

They Trade into all Cities, and *Port* Towns in *France*, and we chiefly to five or ſix.

They traffick into every City and *Port* Town round about this Land, with five or ſix hundred ſhips yearly, and we chiefly but to three Towns in their Countrey, and but with forty ſhips.

Notwithſtanding the *Low-Countreys* have as many ſhips & veſſels as eleven Kingdomes of Chriſtendome have, let *England* be one, and build every year neer one thouſand ſhips, and not a timber tree growing in their own Country, and that alſo all their home-bred Commodities

modities that grow in their Land in a year; (leſs then one hundred good Ships are able to carry them away at one time,) yet they handle the matter ſo for ſetting them all on work, that their Traffick with the Haunce Towns exceeds in Shipping all Chriſtendome.

We have all things of our own in ſuperabundance to increaſe Traffick, and Timber to build Ships, and Commodities of our own to lade about one thouſand Ships and Veſſels at one time, (beſides the great fiſhing) and as faſt as they have made their voyages, might relade again, and ſo year after year all the year long to continue, yet our Ships and Mariners decline, and Traffick and Merchants daily decay.

The main bulk and maſs of *Herrings* from whence they raiſe ſo many millions yearly that inrich other Kingdomes, *Kings* and *States* Coffers, and likewiſe their own people, proceedeth from your Seas and Lands, and the return of the Commodities and Coyn they bring home in exchange of fiſh and other Commodities are ſo huge, as would require a large diſcourſe apart; all the amends they make us, is, they beat us out of Trade in all parts with

with our own Commodities.

For inſtance: We had a great Trade in *Ruſſia* ſeventy years, and about fourteen years paſt we ſent ſtore of goodly Ships to trade in thoſe parts, and three years paſt we ſet out but four, and this laſt year two or three; but to the contrary the *Hollanders* about twenty years ſince traded thither with two Ships only, yet now they are increaſed to about thirty or forty, and one of their Ships is as great as two of ours, and at the ſame time, (in their troubles there) that we decreaſed, they increaſed, and the chiefeſt Commodities they carry with them thither, is *Engliſh* Cloth, Herrings taken in our Seas, *Engliſh* Lead and Pewter made of our Tin, beſides other Commodities; all which we may do better than they. And although it be a cheap Countrey, and the Trade very gainfull, yet we have almoſt brought it to nought, by diſorderly trading, joynt-ſtock, and the Merchants banding themſelves one againſt another.

And ſo likewiſe we uſed to have 8 or 9 great Ships to go continually a fiſhing to *Wardhouſe*, and this year but one, and ſo *ter rata* they out-go us in all kind of fiſhing and merchandizing in all Countreys,

tries, by reaſon they ſpare no coſt, nor deny no priviledges that may incourage advancement of trade and manufactory.

Now if it pleaſe, & with your Majeſties good liking ſtand

TO take notice of theſe things which I have conceived to be fit for your Majeſties conſideration, which in all humbleneſs (as duty bindeth me) I do tender unto your Majeſty, for the unfeigned zeal I bear to the advancement of your honour and profit, and the general good of your ſubjects; it being apparent that no three Kingdoms in Chriſtendome can compare with your Majeſty for ſupport of Traffick, and continually imployment of your people within themſelvs, having ſo many great means both by Sea and Land to inrich your Coffers, multiply your Navy, inlarge your Traffick, make your Kingdomes powerful, and your people rich; yet through idleneſs they are poor, wanting imployment, many of your Land and Coaſt Towns much ruinated, and your Kingdome in need

of Coyn, your Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners decayed, which your Majesties Neighbour Princes, without these means, abound in wealth inlarge their Towns, increase their Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners, and find out such imployment for their people, that they are all advantageous to their Commonwealth, only by ordaining commodious constitutions in Merchandizing, and fulness of Trade in Manufactory.

God hath blest your Majesty with incomparable benefits.

AS with Copper, Lead, Iron, Tin, Allum, Copperas, Saffron, Fells and divers other native Commodities, to the number of about one hundred, and other Manufactories vendible to the number of about one thousand, (as shall appear) besides Corn, whereof great quantity of Beer is made, and most transported by strangers, as also Wooll, whereof much is shipped forth unwrought into Cloath or Stuffs, and Cloth trasported, undrest and undied, which doth imploy and maintain near fifty thousand people in foreign parts,

your

your Majesties people wanting the imployment in *England*, many of them being inforced to live in great want, and seek it beyond the Seas.

Coals, which do imploy hundreds of Strangers ships yearly to transport them out of this Kingdom, whilst we do not imploy twenty ships in that course.

Iron Ordnance, which is a Jewel of great value, far more then it is accounted, by reason that no other Countrey could ever attain unto it, although they have assayed with great charge.

Your Majestie hath Timber of your own for building of ships, and commodities plenty to lade them, which commodities other Nations want, yet your Majesties people decline in Shipping, Traffick, and Mariners.

These Inconveniencies happen by three causes especially.

1. *The unprofitable course of Merchandizing.*
2. *The want of course of full Manufactory of our home-bred Commodities.*

3. *The undervaluing of our Coynes contrary to the rules of other Nations.*

For Instance:

THe Merchant Adventurers by over-trading upon credit, or with money taken up upon exchange, whereby they loſe uſually ten or twelve, and ſometimes fifteen or ſixteen *per cent.* are enforced to make ſale of their cloathes at under-rates, to keep their credit, whereby cloaths being the Jewel of the Land, is undervalued, and the Merchant in ſhort time eaten out.

The Merchants of *Ipſwich*, whoſe Trade for *Elbing* is chiefly for fine cloaths, and ſome few ſorting cloaths all died and dreſt within our Land, do for the moſt part, buy there fine cloaths upon Time, and by reaſon they go ſo much upon credit, they are inforced (not being able to ſtand upon their Markets) to ſell, giving 15. or 18. Moneths day of payment for their cloaths, and having ſold them, they then preſently ſell their Bills ſo taken for cloath, allowing after the rate of fourteen or fifteen

fifteen, and sometimes twenty *per cent.* which money they imploy forthwith in wares at excessive prices, and lose as much more that way, by that time ther wares be sold at home; Thus by over-running themselves upon credit, they disable themselves & others, inhancing the prices of foreign commodities, and pulling down the rates of our own.

The West-Country Merchants that trade with cloths into *France* or *Spain*, do usually imploy their servants, (young men of small experience) who by cunning combining of the *French* & *Spanish* Merchants, are so entrapped, that when all customes and charges be accompted, their Masters shall hardly receive their principal moneys. As for returns out of *France*, their silver and gold is so highly rated, that our Merchants cannot bring it home, but to great losse; therefore the *French* Merchants set higher rates upon their commodities, which we must either buy dear, or let our moneies lie dead ther a long time, until we may conveniently imploy the same.

The Northern Merchants of *York*, *Hull* and *Newcastle*, trade onely in white Kersies and coloured, dozzens, and

every Merchant, be his Adventure never ſo ſmall, doth for the moſt part ſend over an unexperienced youth, unfit for merchandizing, which bringeth to the Stranger great advantage, but to his Maſter and Common-weal great hindrance; for they before their goods be landed, go to the Stranger, and buy ſuch quantities of Iron, Flax, Corn, and other Commodities, as they are bound to lade their Ships withall, which Ships they engage themſelves to relade within three weeks, or a moneth, and do give the price the Merchant Stranger asketh, becauſe he gives them credit, and lets them ſhip away their Iron, Flax and other Commodities, before they have ſold their Kerſies, and other Commodities, by which means extraordinary dear Commodities are returned into this Realm, and the Servant alſo inforced to ſell his Cloths under foot, and oftentimes to loſs, to keep his credit, and to make payment for the Goods before ſhipped home, having ſome twenty days, or a moneths reſpite to ſell the Cloths, and to give the Merchant ſatisfaction for his Iron, Flax, and other wares; by which extremities our home-bred Commodities are abaſed.

Touch-

Touching Manufactory.

THere have been about fourſcore thouſand undreſt and undied Cloths yearly tranſported.

It is therefore evident, that the Kingdome hath been yearly deprived of about 400000 *l.* within this five and fifty years, which is near twenty millions that would have been gained by the labour of poor workmen in that time, with the Merchants gains for bringing in dying Stuffs, and return of Cloths dreſt and dyed, with other benefits to the Realm, beſides exceeding inlarging of Traffick, and increaſe of Ships and Mariners.

There would have been gained in that time about three millions by increaſe of Cuſtome upon Commodities returned for Cloths dreſt and died, and for dying Stuffs, which would have more plentifully been brought in and uſed for the ſame.

There hath been alſo tranſported in that time yearly by Bayſe, *Northern* and *Devonſhire* Kerſies white, about 50000

50000. cloths, counting three Kerſies to a cloth, whereby hath been loſt about five millions, by thoſe ſorts of cloths in that time, which would have come to poor workmen for their labour, with the cuſtoms for dying Stuffs, and the peoples profit for bringing them in, with returns of other commodities and fraights for ſhipping.

Bayes are tranſported white into *Amſterdam*, and being there dreſt and dyed, are ſhipped into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Kingdomes, where they are ſold in the name of *Flemiſh* Bayes, ſetting their own Town Seal upon them, ſo that we loſe the very name of our home-bred commodities, and other Countries get the reputation and profit thereof: Lamentable it is, that this Land ſhould be deprived of ſo many above-mentioned Millions, and that our Native commodities of Cloth, ordained of God for the natural ſubjects, being ſo royal and rich in it ſelf, ſhould be driven to ſo ſmall advantage of reputation and profit to your Majeſty and people, and ſo much improved and intercepted by ſtrangers, conſidering that God hath enabled, and given your Majeſty power

to

to advance dreſſing and dying, and tranſporting of all your Cloths, within a year or two; I ſpeak it knowingly, to ſhew how it may be done laudably, lawfully, and approved to be honourable, feaſable, and profitable.

All the Companies of your Land tranſport their cloths dreſt and dyed, to the good of your Kingdome, except the Merchant Adventurers, whereby the *Eaſtland* and *Turkey* Merchants, with other Companies, do increaſe your Majeſties cuſtomes by bringing in, and ſpending dying Stuffs, and ſetting your people on work, by dreſſing before they tranſport them; and they might increaſe far more cuſtome to your Majeſty, and make much more profit to themſelves, and this Realm, and ſet many thouſands of poor people more on work for dreſſing and dying, and likewiſe imploy more Ships and Mariners, for bringing in dyed Stuffs, were it not for the Merchant Adventurers, who tranſport their cloths white, rough, undreſt and undyed into the *Low Countreys*, where they ſell them to the ſtrangers, who afterwards dreſs, dye & ſtretch them to ſuch unreaſonable lengths, contrary to our Law, that they prevent

vent and fore-ſtall our Markets, and croſs the juſt prohibitions of our State and Realm, by their Agents and Factors lying in divers places with our own Cloths, to the great decay of this Kingdome in generall, and diſcredit of our cloaths in particular.

If the account were truly known, it would be found that they make not clear profit, onely by Cloth tranſported rough, undreſt, and undied, ſixty thouſand pounds a year; But it is moſt apparent your Majeſty in your Cuſtomes, your Merchants in their ſales and prices, your Subjects in their labours, for lack of not dreſſing and dying, your Ships and Mariners in not bringing in of dying Stuffs, and ſpending of Allum, is hindred yearly near a million of pounds, ſo that Trade is driven to the great hindrance of your Majeſty and people, by permitting your native commodities to paſs rough, undreſt, and undied, by the Merchant Adventurer.

Touch-

Touching Fiſhing.

THe great Sea buſineſs of Fiſhing doth imploy near twenty thouſand Ships, and Veſſels, and four hundred thouſand people are imployed yearly upon your Coaſt of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with ſixty Ships of War, which may prove dangerous.

The *Hollanders* onely have about three thouſand ſhips to fiſh withall, and fifty thouſand people are imployed yearly by them upon your Majeſties coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

Theſe three thouſand fiſhing ſhips and veſſels of the *Hollanders*, do imploy near nine thouſand others ſhips and veſſels, and one hundred & fifty thouſand perſons more by Sea & Land to make proviſion to dreſs and tranſport the Fiſh they take, and return Commodities, whereby they are inabled, and do build yearly one thouſand ſhips and veſſels, having not one timber tree growing in their own Countrey, nor home-bred Commodities to lade one hundred ſhips, and yet they have twenty thouſand ſhips and veſſels, and all imployed

King

King *Henry* the ſeventh, deſirous to make his Kingdomes powerful & rich, by encreaſe of Ships and Mariners, and employment of his people, ſent unto his Sea-coaſt Towns, moving them to ſet up the great and rich fiſhing, with promiſe to give them needful priviledges, and to furniſh them with loanes of money, if need were, to encourage them, yet his people were ſlack. Now ſince I have traced this buſineſſe, and made mine endeavours known unto your Majeſty, your Noblemen, able Merchants, and others, (who having ſet down under their hands for more aſſurance) promiſed to diſburſe large ſummes of money for the building up of this great and rich large Sea City, which will encreaſe more ſtrength to your Land, give more comfort, and doe more good to all your Cities and Townes, than all the Companies of your Kingdome, having fit and needful priviledges, for the upholding and ſtrengthning of ſo weighty and needful a buſineſſe.

For example, twenty Buſſes built and put into a Sea coaſt Town where there is not one Ship before, there muſt be to carry, recarry, tranſport, and

make

make provision for one Buss, three Ships; likewise every Ship setting on work thirty several Trades and Occupations, and four hundred thousand persons by Sea and Land, insomuch as three hundred persons are not able to make one Fleet of Nets in four moneths for one Buss which is no small employment.

Thus by twenty Busses are set on work near eight thousand persons by Sea and Land, & an encrease of above one thousand Mariners; and a Fleet of eighty sail of Ships to belong to one Town, where none were before to take the wealth out of the Sea to enrich and strengthen the Land, only by raising of twenty Busses.

Then what good one thousand, or two thousand will do, I leave to your Majesties consideration.

It is worthy to be noted, how necessary Fishermen are to the Commonwealth, and how needfull to be advanced and cherished; *viz.*

1. For taking Gods blessing out of the Sea to enrich the Realm, which otherwise we lose.

2. For setting the people on work.

3. For

3. For making plenty and cheapneſs in the Realm.

4. For encreaſing of Shipping, to make the Land powerful.

5. For a continual Nurſery for breeding and encreaſing our Manners.

6. For making employment of all ſorts of people, as blind, lame, and others by Sea and Land from ten or twelve years and upwards.

7. For enriching your Majeſties Coffers, for Merchandiſes returned from other Countries for *Fiſh* and *Herrings*.

8. For the encreaſe and enabling of Merchants, which now droop and daily decay.

Touching the Coyn.

FOr the moſt part, all Monarchies and free States, both *Heathen* and *Chriſtian*, as *Turky*, *Barbary*, *France*, *Poland*, and others, do hold for a rule of never-failing profit, to keep their Coyn at higher rates within their own Territories, than it is in other Kingdomes.

The Causes.

1. To preserve the Coyn within their own Territories.
2. To bring unto themselves the Coyn of Foreign Princes.
3. To enforce Merchant strangers to take their commodities at high rates, which this Kingdome bears the burthen of.

For instance.

THe King of *Barbary* perceiving the Trade of Christian Merchants to encrease in his Kingdome, and that the returns out of his Kingdoms were most in Gold, whereby it was much enhanced, raised his Ducket (being then currant for three ounces) to four, five, and six ounces; nevertheless it was no more worth in *England*, being so raised, then when it went for three ounces.

This Ducket currant for three ounces in *Barbary*, was then worth in *England* seven shillings and six pence, and no more worth, being raised to six ounces, since which (time adding to it a small piece of Gold) he hath raised it to eight

eight, and lastly to ten ounces, yet at this day it is worth but ten shillings, and one penny, notwithstanding your Majesties late raising of your gold.

Having thus raised his gold, he then devised to have plenty of silver brought into his Kingdome, raised the Royal of eight, being but two ounces to three &three pence half penny, which caused great plenty of silver to be brought in, and to continue in his Kingdome.

France.

THe *English Iacobus* goeth for three and twenty shillings in Merchandizing.

The *French* Crown for seven shillings and six pence.

Also the King hath raised his silver four sowce in the Crown.

North-Holland.

THe double *Iacobus* goeth for three and twenty shillings sterling.

The

The *Engliſh* ſhilling is there eleven ſtivers, which is two ſhillings over in the pound.

Poland.

THe King of *Poland* raiſed his *Hungary* Ducket from 56 to 77 ½ *Polinſh* groſhes, and the Rix Dollor from 36 to 47 and ½ groſhes, the RixDollor worth in *Poland* 47 and ½ groſhes, is by account valued at 6 s. 4 d. Sterling, and here in *England* is worth but 4 s. 7 d. The *Hungary* Ducket 77 is worth by account in *Poland* 10 s. 4 d. and in *England* is worth but 7 s. 10 d. The Jacobus of *England* here currant for 22 s. in *Poland* 24 s. at the rate of 7 s. 10 d. for the *Hungary* Ducket.

Now to turn the ſtream and riches raiſed by your Majeſties native Commodities into the natural channel, from whence it hath been a long time diverted.

May

May it pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider theſe points following.

1. WHether it be not fit that a State-Merchant be ſetled within your Dominions, which may both diſpoſe more profitably of the riches thereof, and encounter policies of Merchant-Strangers, who now go beyond us in all kind of profitable Merchandizing.

2. Whether it be not neceſſary that your native commodities ſhould receive their full Manufactory by your Subjects within your Dominions.

3. Whether it be not fit the Coals ſhould yield your Majeſty and Subjects a better value, by permitting them to paſs out of the Land, and that they be in your Subjects Shipping onely tranſported.

4. Whether it be not fit your Majeſty preſently raiſe your Coyn to as high rates, as it is in the parts beyond the Seas.

5. Whether it be not neceſſary that the great Sea-buſineſs of Fiſhing be forthwith ſet forward.

If

If it please your Majesty to approve of these considerations, and accordingly to put them in a right course of execution, I assure my self (by Gods help) in short time your Majesties Customes, and the continual comings into your Coffers, will be exceedingly encreased, your Ships and Mariners trebled, your Land and waste Townes (which are now run out of Gates) better replenished, and your people employed, to the great enriching and honour of your Kingdome, with the applause, and to the comfort of all your Loyal Subjects.

May it please your Majesty.

I Have the rather undergone the pains to look into their policies, because I have heard them professe they hoped to get the whole Trade and Shipping of Christendome into their own hands, as wellfor transportation, as otherwise for the command and master of the Seas, to which end I find that they do daily increase their Traffick, augmenting their Shipping, multiplying their Mariners, strength and wealth in all kindes, whereat I have grieved the more, when I considered how God hath endued this King-

Kingdome above any three Kingdomes in Chriſtendome with divers varieties of home-bread commodities, which others have not, & cannot want, & indued us with ſundry other means to continue & maintain trade of Merchandizing & Fiſhing beyond them all, whereby we might prevent the deceivers, ingroſs the commodities of the ingroſſers, inrich our ſelves, and increaſe our Navigation, Shipping, & Mariners, ſo as it would make all Nations to vail the Bonnet to *England*, if we would not be ſtill wanting to our ſelves in imployment of our people.

Which people being divided into three parts, two parts of them are meer ſpenders and conſumers of a Common-wealth, therefore I aim at theſe points following.

To allure and encourage the people for their private gain, to be all workers and erecters of a Common-wealth.

To inrich and fill your Majeſties Coffers by a continual coming in, and make your people wealthy, by means of their great and profitable trading and imployment.

To vent our home-bred commodities to far more reputation, and much more profit

profit to the King, the Merchant, and the Kingdome.

To return the Merchandizes of other Countries at far cheaper rates then now they are, to the great good of the Realm in general.

To make the Land powerful, by increasing of Ships and Mariners.

To make your peoples takings in general to be much more e very day, then now they are, which by Gods help, will grow continually more and more, by the great concourse and commerce that will come by setled constitutions and convenient priviledges, as in other parts they do by this their great freedome of Trade.

All this, and much more is done in other Countreys, where nothing groweth, so that of nothing they make great things.

Then how much more mighty things might we make, where so great abundance, and variety of home-bred commodites, and rich materials growes, for your people to work upon, and other plentiful means to do that withall, which other Nations neither have, nor cannot want, but of necessity must be furnished from hence?

And now whereas our merchandizing is wild, utterly confused, and out of frame, as at large appeareth, a State-Merchant will roundly and effectually bring all the premises to passe, fill your Havens with ships, those ships with Mariners, your Kingdome full of Merchants, their houses full of out-landish commodities, and your Coffers full of coyn, as in other parts they do, & your people shall have just cause to hold in happy memory, that your Majesty was the beginner of so profitable, praise-worthy, and renowned a work, being the true Philosophers stone to make your Majesty a rich and potent King, & your Subjects happy people, onely by settling of a State-Merchant, whereby your people may have fulness of Trade and Manufactory, and yet hold both honourable and profitable Government without breakings of Companies.

And for that in the settling of so weighty a businesse, many things of great consequence must necessarily fall into consideration. I humbly pray that your Majesty may be pleased (for the bringing of this great service to light) to give me leave to nominate the Commissioners, and your Majesty to give

them

them power to call before them such men as they shall think fit to conferre with upon oath, or otherwise as occasion shall offer; that the said Commissioners with all speed, for the better advancement of this honourable and profitable work, may prepare, and report the same unto your Majesty.

Your Majesties most loyal and true-hearted Subject.

THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT.

That the Seat of Government *is upheld by the two great pillars thereof*, viz. *Civil* Justice *and Martial* Policie, *which are framed out of* Husbandry, Merchandize, *and* Gentry *of this Kingdome.*

THey say, that the goodliest Cedars which grow on the high Mountains of *Libanus*, thrust their roots between the clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear themselves against the strong storms that blow there. As Nature hath instructed those

thoſe Kings of Trees, ſo hath Reaſon taught the Kings of Men, to root themſelves in the hardy Hearts of their faithful Subjects. And as thoſe Kings of Trees have large Tops, ſo have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the firſt would be broken ſoon from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; ſo would the other eaſily totter, were rhey not faſtened on their heads, with the ſtrong chains of Civil *Iuſtice* and Martial *Diſcipline*.

1. For the adminiſtration of the firſt, even God himſelf hath given direction, *Iudges and Officers ſhalt thou make, which ſhall judge the People with rig hteous Iudgements.*

2. The ſecond is grounded on the firſt Laws of the World and Nature, that force is to be repelled by Force. Yea *Moſes* in the 20. of *Exodus*, and elſewhere, hath delivered us many Laws and Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuſe in both, ſo have we heard of the declin and ruine of many Kingdoms an States long before our dayes: for tha Policie hath never yet prevailed (though it hath ſerved for a ſhor

ſeaſon) where the counterfeit hath been ſold for the natural, and the outward ſhew and formality for the ſubſtance. Of the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth, the Writers of that Age witneſſe, that he uſed but the name of Juſtice and good order, being more learned in the Law, then in doing right, and that he had by farre, more knowledge then conſcience. Certainly the unjuſt Magiſtrate that fancieth to himſelf a ſolid and untranſparable body of Gold, every ordinary wit can vitrifie, and make tranſparent, pierce and diſcern their corruptions; howſoever, becauſe not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the mean while it is alſo true, that conſtrained diſſimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppreſſed, either in publick eſtates, or in private perſons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leiſure of her lurking, but ſharpen her teeth, the voluntary being no leſſe baſe, then the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England*, and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland*, and their people, between the *Sicilians*, and the *French*, between the

Dol-

Dolphin and *John* of *Burgoin*, between *Charles* the Ninth, and the *French* Protestants, and between *Henry* the Third his Successour, and the Lords of *Guise*; and hereof in place of more particulars, the whole world would serve for examples

It is a difficult piece of Geography, to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maintained it self in lasting happiness; it hath ever acquired more honour by perswading, than by beating: for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other chains or cords, both rusty and rot noble parts of their own royal and politick Bodies.

But we will forbear for a while to stretch this first string of Civil *Justice*: for in respect of the first sort of Men, *to wit*, of those that live by their own labour, they have never been displeased where they have been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their own travels; *Meum & Tuum*, Mine and Thine is all wherein they seek their certainty and protection. True it is, that they are the Fruit trees of the Land,

which God in *Deuteronomie* commanded to be ſpared, they gather honey, and hardly enjoy the wax, and break the ground with great labour, giving the beſt of their grain to the eaſefull and idle.

For the ſecond ſort, which are the Merchants, as the firſt feed the Kingdome, ſo do theſe inrich it, yea their Trades, eſpecially thoſe which are forcible, are not the leaſt part of our Martial policy, as is hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all ages & times aſſiſted the Kings of this Land, not only with great ſums of money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their interpriſes beyond the Seas. The ſecond have ſeldom or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions, hath ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations, give them but the Commiſſion of Repriſal; they will either right themſelves, or ſit down with their own loſs without complaint.

3. The third ſort, which are the Gentry of *England*, theſe being neither ſeated in the loweſt grounds, and thereby ſubject to the biting of every beaſt, nor in the higheſt mountains, and there-

thereby in danger to be torn with tempest; but the Valleys between both have their parts in the inferiour Justice, and being spread over all, are the Garrisons of good order throughout the Realm.

OBSERVATIONS

CONCERNING The Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of CITIES.

THat the onely way to civilize and reform the savage and barbarous lives, and corrupt manners of such people, is,

1. To be dealt withal by gentle and loving conversation among them, to attain to the knowledge of their Language, and of the multitude of their special discommodities, & inconveniencies in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired reputation amongst them, upon a solid and true foundation of Piety, Justice, and Wisdome, conjoyned with fortitude and power.

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3. The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion* were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, *&c.*

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation, of the certainty, truth, and sincerity of these, together with the felicity of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themselves and their posterity.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several Colonies; that so an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civility, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates & Ministers of the King, or other supe-

ſuperiour power, under whom this Reformation is ſought; which courſe the *Stoick* tells, that *Theſeus* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one City, that before lived diſperſedly in many Villages. The like is put in practice at this day by the *Portugals*, and Jeſuites, that they may with leſs difficulty and hinderance reform the rough behaviour and ſavage life of the people of *Brazeel*, who dwell ſcattered and diſperſed in Caves and Cottages made of boughs and leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great built more then ſeventy Cities, *Seleucus* built three Cities, called *Appanice*, to the honour of his Wife, and five called *Laodicea*, in memory of his mother. and five called *Seleucia*, to the honour of himſelf.

Safety for Defence of the People and their Goods, in and near the Town.

IN the ſituation of Cities, there is to be required a place of ſafety, by ſome natural ſtrength, commodiouſneſs for Na-

Navigation and Conduct, for the attaining of plenty of all good things, for the ſuſtenance and comfort of mans life, and to draw trade and intercourſe of other Nations, as if the ſame be ſituate in ſuch ſort; as many people have need to repair thither for ſome naturall commodity or other of the Countrey, which by traffick and tranſportation of commodities, whereof they have more plenty then will ſupply their own neceſſity, or for receiving of things, whereof they have ſcarcity. And much better will it be, if the place afford ſome notable commodity of it ſelf, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the ſame. Likewiſe, and withall, be ſo fertile, pleaſant, and healthfull of it ſelf, that it may afford plenty of good things, for the delight and comfort of the inhabitants.

In former times, great Nations, Kings, and Potentates have indured ſharp conflicts, and held it high policy, by all means to increaſe their Cities with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the *Romans* ever furniſhed themſelves with ſtrength and power, to make their neighbour peo-

ple,

ple of neceſſity, willing to draw themſelves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean ſtrength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cauſe utterly deſtroy many Cities, bringing alwayes the vanquiſhed Captives to *Rome*, for the augmentation of that City.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the *Sabines*, condeſcended to peace, upon condition that *Tatius* their King ſhould come with all their people to dwell at *Rome*: *Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the Capitol, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his ſeat and Palace.

The ſame courſe held *Tamberlain* the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Sarmacanda*, ſtill bringing unto it the richeſt and wealthieſt Citizens he had ſubdued.

And the *Ottomans*, to make the City *Conſtantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thouſand Families, eſpecially Artificers out of the ſubdued Cities, as *Mahomet* the Great from *Trabizond*, *Selim* the Firſt from *Cairo*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

Authority and neceſſity, without the conſideration of the conveniencies and

com

commodiousneſs of ſituation above-mentioned, are of ſmall moment in the foundation of a City, thereby onely it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in magnificency or opulency; for if profit, height, and delight, go not companions therewith, no authority or neceſſity can retain much people or wealth.

But if the place whereupon a City is to be founded, be commodious for the aforeſaid conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicity of this life, then no doubt, the ſame is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the ſame, whereby it may, by the help of Arts and Induſtry, in time become magnificent and glorious.

Sir

SIR *WALTER RALEIGH's* LETTERS.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to Mr. Secretary* Winwood, *before his Journey to* Guiana.

Honourable SIR,

I Was lately perſwaded by two Gentlemen, my ancient Friends, to acquaint your Honour with ſome offers of mine, made heretofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who were of opinion, That it would be better underſtood now, than when it was firſt propounded, which advice having ſurmounted my diſpair, I have preſumed to ſend unto your Honour the Copies of thoſe Letters which I then wrote, both to his Majeſty, & to the Treaſurer *Cecill*, wherein as well the reaſons

ſons that firſt moved me are remembred, as the objections by him made, are briefly anſwered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hear-ſay, but what mine eyes have ſeen, I have ſaid it often, but it was then to no end: Becauſe thoſe that had the greateſt truſt, were reſolved not to believe it, not becauſe they doubted the Truth, but becauſe they doubted my Diſpoſition towards themſelves; where (if God had bleſſed me in the Enterpriſe) I had recovered his Majeſties favour and good opinion. Other cauſe than this, or other ſuſpicion they never had any. Our late Worthy Princes of *Wales* was extream curious in ſearching out the nature of my Offences, the Queens Majeſtie hath informed her ſelf from the beginning. The King of *Denmark* at both times of his being here, was throughly ſatisfied of my innocencie; they would otherwiſe never have moved his Majeſtie on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not uſe to ſue for men ſuſpect; but Sir, ſince they all have done it out of their charitie,

and

and but with references to me alone. Your Honour (whose respect hath onely relation to his Majesties service) strengthened by the example of those Princes, may with the more hardness do the like, being Princes to whom his Majesties good estate is no less dear; and all men that shall oppugn it no less hatefull then to the King himself.

It is true Sir, That his Majestie hath sometimes answered, That his Councel knew me better then he did; meaning some two or three of them, and it was indeed my infelicitje; for had his Majestie known me, I had never been here where I now am: or had I known his Majestie, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majestie not knowing of me hath been my ruine, and his Majestie misknowing of them, hath been the ruine of a goodly part of his estate: but they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his Majesties knowledge. But Sir, how little soever his Majestie knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majesty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which,

but

but for his Majesty, nor Life, nor ought else had remained. In this respect Sir, I am bound to yield up the same life, and all I have for his Majesties service: To die for the King, and not by the King, is all the ambition I have in the World.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to his* Wife, *from* Guiana.

Sweet Heart,

I Can yet write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent Calenture for fifteen dayes, that ever man did, and lived: but God that gave me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell fire of heat.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which fourty two have died, and there are yet many sick, but having recovered the land of *Guiana*, this 12. of *November*, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hun-

hundred men, and the reſt of our Fleet are reaſonable ſtrong, ſtrong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London*, to make our ſtrength known to the Spaniſh King by his Ambaſſador, have not taught the Spaniſh King to fortifie all the enterances againſt us, howſoever we muſt make the adventure, and if we periſh, it ſhall be no honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majeſtie to loſe among many other, an hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain *Baylies* baſe coming from us at the *Canaries*, ſee a Letter of *Kemiſhes* to Mr. *Scony*, and of the unnatural weather, ſtorms, and rains, and winds. He hath in the ſame letter, given a touch of the way that hath ever been ſailed in fourty dayes!, now hardly performed in fourteen dayes. God I truſt, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In paſſage to the *Canariss*, I ſtayed at *Gomerah*, where I took water in peace, becauſe the Countrey durſt not deny it me. I received there of an Engliſh race, a Preſent of Oranges, Lemmons, Quinces, & Pome-granates, without

out which I could not have lived; those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your Son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the Line. All my servants have escaped but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the sickness. *Crosis* and *March*, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr. Secretarie *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries: yet of men of sort, we have lost our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigot*, and his Lieutenant, Captain *Edward Hastings*, who would have died at home, for both his Liver, Spleen, and Brains were rotten. My Sons Lieutenant *Payton*, and my Cousin Mr. *Hews*, Mr. *Mordant*, Mr. *Gardiner*, Mr. *Hayward*, Captain *Ienning* the Merchant, *Kemish* of *London*, and the Master Chyrurgeon, Mr. *Refiner*, Mr. *Moor* the Governour of the *Barmoudas*, our Provost Marshal *William Steed*, Lieutenant *Vescie*, but to mine inestimable grief, *Hammon* and *Talbot*. By the next I trust you shall hear better of us, in Gods hands

hands we were, and in him we truſt.

This bearer, Captain *Alley*, for his infirmity of his head I have ſent back, an honeſt valiant man, he can deliver you all that is paſt. Commend me to my worthy friends at *Lothbury*, Sir *John Leigh* and *Mr. Bower*, whoſe Nephew *Knevit* is well, and to my coſin *Blundell*, and my moſt devoted and humble ſervice to her Majeſtie.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indian*, were a vanity, but my name hath ſtill lived among them; here they feed me with freſh meat, and all that the Countrey yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my Son.

From Calliana *in* Guiana, the 14. of *November*.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to Sir* Ralph Winwood.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our proceedings and paſſages towards the *Indies*, ſo have I no other ſubject to write of, then of the

the greateſt misfortunes that ever befel any man: for whereas, for the firſt, All thoſe that Navigate between *Cape de Verd* and *America* do paſſe between fifteen or twenty dayes at moſt, we found the wind ſo contrary, and which are alſo contrary to nature, ſo many ſtorms and rains, as we ſpent ſix weeks in the paſſage, by reaſon whereof, and that in ſo great heat we wanted water: for at the Iſle *Prano* of *Cape de Verd*, we loſt our Anchours and Cables, and our water Casks, being driven from the Iſland with a *Huricano*, and were like all to have periſhed. Great ſickneſſe fell amongſt us, and carried away great numbers of our ableſt men both for Sea and Land. The ſeventeenth of *November*, we had ſight of *Guiana*, and ſoon after came to anchor in five degrees at the River *Galliano*, here we ſtaid till the fourth of *December*, landed our ſick men, ſet up the Barges & Shallops, which were brought out of *England* in quarters, waſhed our Ships, and took in freſh water, being fed and cheriſhed by the *Indians* of my old acquaintance, with a great deal of love and reſpect, my ſelf being in the hands of death theſe ſix weeks, and was not able

able otherwiſe to move than as I was carried in a Chair, gave order to five ſmall ſhips, to ſail into *Oronoque*, having Captain *Kemiſh* for their Conductor towards the Mines, and in thoſe five Ships five Companies of fifty under the command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, brethren to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat which they have endured, my Son had the third Company, Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company, Captain *Chidley*, by his Lieutenant, the fifth: but as my Serjeant Major Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countreys* died in the former miſerable paſſage, ſo my Lieutenant Sir *Warhams S. Leiter* lay ſick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had alſo ſerved long with infinite commendations; but by reaſon of my abſence, and of Sir *Warhams*, was not ſo well obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they paſſed up the River, the *Spaniard* began the War, and ſhot at us both with their Ordnance and Muskets, whereupon the Companies were for-

forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the Town. In the assault, my Son (more desirous of honour then safety) was slain, with whom to say truth) all the respects of this world have taken end in me. And although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongst them some twenty or thirty valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular courage, as of my Sons Company, Mr. *Knivet*, Mr. *Hammon*, Mr. *Langworth*, Mr. *John Pleasington*; his Officers, Sir *John Hamden*, Mr. *Simon Leak* Corporal of the Field, Mr. *Hammon* the elder Brother, Mr. *Nicholas* of *Buckingham*, Mr. *Roberts of Kent*, Mr. *Perin*, Mr. *Tresham*, Mr. *Mullinax*, Mr. *Winter* and his Brother, Mr. *Wray*, Mr. *Miles Herbert*, Mr. *Bradshaw*, Captain *Hall*, and others.

Sir, I have set down the names of these Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable for them near *Guiana*. The

second Ship was demanded by my Vice-Admiral Captain *Iohn Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficienteſt Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by Sir *Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by Sir *Iohn Fern*. The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With theſe five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they ſet upon us, our force divided, the one half in *Orinoque*, and hundred and fifty miles from us, we had not onely been torn in pieces, but all thoſe in the River had alſo periſhed, being of no force at all for the Sea-fight; for we had reſolved to have been burnt by their ſides, had the Armado arrived: but belike, they ſtaid for us at *Margaret*, by which they knew we muſt paſs towards the *Indies*: for it pleaſed his Majeſty to value us at ſo little, as to command me upon my Allegiance, to ſet down under my hand the Countrey, and the River by which I was to enter it; to ſet down the number of my men, and burthen of my Ships, and what Ordnance every Ship carryed, which being known to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, and by him

to

to the King of *Spain*, a diſpatch was made, and letters ſent from *Madrid*, before my departure out of the *Thames*: for his firſt Letter ſent by a Barque of Advice, was dated the 19 of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, which Letter I have here incloſed ſent to your Honour, the reſt I reſerve, not knowing whether they may be interpreted or not. The ſecond by the King, dated the ſecond of *May*, ſent alſo by a Colonel of *Diego de Polonioque*, Governour of *Guiana*, *Elderedo*, and *Trinidado*. The third by the Biſhop of *Pereriche*, and delivered to *Polonioque* the 15. of *Iuly*, at *Trinidado*. And the fourth was ſent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Cuſtomes in the *Indies*. At the ſame time, by that of the Kings hand, ſent by the Biſhop, there was alſo a Commiſſion for the ſpeedy levying of three hundred ſouldiers, and ten pieces of Ordnance to be ſent from *Portricho*, for the defence of *Guiana*, an hundred and fifty from *Nuevo Remo de Grando*, under the command of Captain *Anthony Muſica*, and the other hundred and fifty from *Portricho*, to be conducted by Captain *Fran. Laudio*.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to

the *Indies* since his Majesties time knew that the *Spaniards* have flayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but Merchant men, what death and cruel torment shall we expect, if they conquer us? Certainly they have hitherto failed grosly, being set out thence as we were, both for number, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an Apology for not working the Mine, (although I know his Majestie expects) whom I am to satisfie so much, as my self, having lost my son, and my estate in the Enterprise, yet it is true, that the *Spaniards* took more care to defend the passage leading unto it, then they did the Town, which by the Kings instructions they might easily do, the Countreys being *Aspera & Nemorosa*.

But it is true, that when Captain *Kemish* found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Myne by a mile, and where he found a descent, a volley of Muskets came from the Woods upon the Boat, and slew two Rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman of Captain *Thornix*, of which wound he languisheth to this

this day. He, to wit, *Kemiſh*, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to diſcover the Myne; for he gave me this for an excuſe at his return, that the Companies of *Engliſh* in the Town of S. *Thome* were not able to defend it, againſt the daily and nightly aſſaults of the *Spaniards*, that the paſſages to the Mines, were thick and unpaſſable woods, and that the Myne being diſcovered, they had no men to work it, did not diſcover it at all: for it is true, the *Spaniards* having two gold Mynes near the Town, the one poſſeſſed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Paran*, the ſecond by *Harmian Frotinio*, the third of ſilver, by Captain *Franciſco*, for the want of *Negroes* to work them; for as the *Indians* cannot be conſtrained by a Law of *Charls* the Fifth, ſo the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the labour of thoſe Mynes, whatſoever the Bragadochio, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſaith. I ſhall prove under the Proprietors hand, by the Cuſtome-Book, and the Kings Quinto, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I ſhall alſo make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how eaſily thoſe Mynes, and five or ſix more

of them may be poſſeſſed, and the moſt of them in thoſe parts, which never have as yet been attempted by any, nor by any paſſage to them, nor ever diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch*. But at *Kemiſh* his return from *Orinoque*, when I rejected his counſel, and his courſe, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credit with the King paſt recovery, he ſlew himſelf: for I told him, that ſeeing my Son was ſlain, I cared not if I had loſt an hundred more in opening of the Myne, ſo my credit had been ſaved: for I proteſt before God, had not Captain *Whitney* (to whom I gave more countenance, than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another Ship with him of Captain *Wolleſton's*. I would have left my body at S. *Thomes* by my Sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mynes, ſo much Gold-oar, as ſhould have ſatisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing; what ſhall become of me I know not, I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor eſtate conſumed, and whether any Prince will give me bread or no, I know not. I deſire your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my ſervice to my

Lord

Lord of *Arundel* and *Pembrook*, to take some pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her sorrow for her Son; and beseech you to give a Copy of this to my Lord *Carew*: for to a broken mind, a sick body, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weakness of the *Indies*, which, if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithfull servant.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter sent to his Wife, copied out of his own hand-writing.*

I Was loth to write, because I know not how to comfort you, and God knows, I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God, and remember, that the Queens Majesty bare the loss of Prince *Henry* with a magnanimous

heart, and the Lady *Harrington* of her Son. Comfort your heart (deareſt *Beſs*) I ſhall ſorrow for us both, I ſhall ſorrow the leſs, becauſe I have not long to ſorrow, becauſe not long to live. I referre you to Mr. Secretary *Winwoods* Letter, who will give you a Copy of it, if you ſend for it, therein you ſhall know what hath paſſed: I have written that Letter, for my brains are broken, and it is a torment for me to write, and eſpecially of miſery. I have deſired Mr. Secretary to give my Lord *Carew* a Copy of his Letter. I have cleanſed my Ship of ſick men, and ſent them home: I hope God will ſend us ſomewhat before we return. You ſhall hear from me, if I live, from the New-found Land, where I mean to make clean my Ships and reviſtual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bleſs and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valiant Son.

This 22. *of* March, *From the Iſle of* Chriſtophers, *yours* Walter Raleigh.

Poſt-ſcript.

I Proteſt before the Majeſtie of God, That as Sir *Francis Drake*, and

and Sir *Iohn Hawkins* died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise. I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you, and to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve your self that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that *Kemish* might have gone directly to the Myne, and meant it, but after my sons death, he made them believe he knew not the way, and excused himself upon want of water in the River, and counterfetting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back, *I* told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever; he answered, That when my Son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he resolved not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of Rascals, who after my Sons death made no account of him. He further told me that the *English* sent up into *Guiana*, could hardly defend the *Spanish* Town of S. *Thome* which they had taken, and therefore for them to passe through thick woods it was impossible, & more impossible to have victual brought

them into the Mountains. And it is true that the Governour *Diego Polenego*, and other four Captains being ſlain, whereof *Wat* ſlew one, *Pleſſington*, *Wat*'s ſervant, and *Iohn* of *Moroccoes*, one of his men, ſlew other two. I ſaw five of them ſlain in the entrance of the Town, the reſt went off in a whole body, and took more care to defend the paſſages to their Mynes (of which they had three within a League of the Town, beſides a Myne that was about five miles off) than they did of the Town it ſelf. Yet *Kemiſh* at the firſt was reſolved to go to the Myne; but when he came to the bank-ſide to Land, and had two of his men ſlain outright from the bank, and ſix other hurt, and Captain *Thornix* ſhot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away theſe twelve weeks.

Now when *Kemiſh* came back, and gave me the former reaſons, which moved him not to open the Myne, the one the death of my Son, a ſecond the weakneſs of the *Engliſh*, and their impoſſibilities to work, and to be victualled, a third that it were a folly to diſcover it for the *Spaniards*, and laſtly, my weakneſs, and being unpardoned;

and

and that I rejected all these his Arguments, and told him, that I must leave him to himself, to resolve it to the King and State, he shut up himself into his Cabbin, and shot himself with a pocket Pistol which broke one of his ribs, and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long Knife under his short ribs up to the handle, and died. Thus much I have written to Mr. Secretary, to whose Letters I referre you to know the truth. I did after the sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of *Northumberland*, and *Silvanus Scorie*.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to slaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to set down not onely the Countrey, but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my Ships number, men, and my Artillery. This now was sent by the *Spanish* Ambassadour to his Master the King of *Spain*, the King wrote his Letters to all parts of the *Indies*, especially to the Governour *Palamago* of *Guiana*, *Elderado*, and *Trinidado*, of which the

first

first Letter bore date 19. of *March*, 1617. at *Madrill*, when I had not yet left the *Thames*, which Letter I have ſent to Mr. Secretary. I have alſo other Letters of the Kings which I reſerve, and one of the Councils. The King alſo ſent a Commiſſion to levy three hundred Soldiers out of his Garriſons of *unie Regno de Granado è Portricho*, with ten pieces of braſs Ordnance to entertain us: he alſo prepared an Army by Sea to ſet upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preſerved, if I live I ſhall make it known; my brains are broken, and I cannot write much, I live yet, and I told you why. *Witney*, for whom I ſold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance, than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *Woolenſton* with him, ſo as I have now but five Ships, and out of thoſe I have ſent ſome into my Fly-boat, a rabble of idle Raſcals, which I know will not ſpare to wound me, but I care not. I am ſure there is never a baſe ſlave in all the Fleet hath taken the pain and care that I have done, that have ſlept ſo little, and travelled ſo much, my

friends

friends will not believe them, and for the reſt I care not; God in heaven bleſs you, and ſtrengthen your heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to Mr. Secretary* Winwood.

SIR,

SInce the death of *Kemiſh*, it is confeſſed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward friends, that he told them, that he could have brought them unto the Myne within two hours March from the Rivers ſide; but becauſe my Son was ſlain, my ſelf unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reaſon to open the Myne either for the *Spaniard*, or for the King; they anſwered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had granted my heart under the Great Seal. He replyed, that the grant to me was to no man, *non*

Ens in the Law, and therefore of no force; this discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death: but when I was resolved to write unto your Honor, he prayed me to joyn with him in excusing his not going to the Myne, I answered him I would not do it; but if my self could satisfie the King and State, that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: but for my part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might with loss have done it; other excuses I would not frame: he told me that he would wait on me presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was no sooner come from him into my Cabbin, but I heard a Pistol go over my head; and sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that *Kemish* shot it out of his Cabbin window to cleanse it; his boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his bed with much blood by him, and looking in his face, saw him dead; the Pistol being but little, did but crack his rib, but turning him over, found a long Knife in his body, all but the handle. Sir, I have sent into *England* with my cousin *Herbert* (a very valiant honest Gentleman) divers unworthy persons,

good

good for nothing, neither by Sea, nor Land; and though it was at their own ſuit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beſeech your Honour, that the ſcorn of men may not be believed of me. who have taken more pains, and ſuffered more than the meaneſt Raſcal in the Ship: theſe being gone, I ſhall be able to keep the Sea untill the end of *Auguſt*, with ſome four reaſonable good Ships. Sir, whereſoever God ſhall permit me to arrive in any part of *Europe*, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have done, till then, and ever I reſt

Your Honours

Servant

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's Letter to King JAMES, At his return from GUIANA.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty.

IF in my Jouney outward bound, I had my men murthered at the Iſlands, & yet ſpared to take revenge, if I did diſcharge ſome *Spaniſh* Barkes taken without ſpoil, if I forbear all parts of the *Spaniſh Indies*, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Downs on the Sea Coaſts, and did onely follow the enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where without any directions from me, a *Spaniſh* Village was burnt, which was new ſet up within three miles of the Myne, By your Majeſties favour, I find no reaſon why the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour ſhould complain of me. If it were lawfull for the *Spaniards* to murther twenty ſix *Engliſh*

liſh men, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the Land without ſo much as one ſword, and that it may not be lawfull to your Majeſties Subjects, being charged firſt by them, to repell force by force, we may juſtly ſay, O miſerable *Engliſh!*

If *Parker* and *Metham* rook *Campeach*, and other places in the *Honduraes*, ſeated in the heart of the *Spaniſh Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the *Spaniards*, and had nothing ſaid unto them at their return, and my ſelf forbore to look into the *Indies*, becauſe I would not offend, I may as juſtly ſay, O miſerable Sir *Walter Raleigh!*

If I have ſpent my poor eſtate, loſt my Son, ſuffered by ſickneſs and otherwiſe a world of miſeries; if I have reſiſted with manifeſt hazard of my life, the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich; if when I was poor, I would have made my ſelf rich; if when I have gotten my liberty, which all men and nature it ſelf do much prize, I voluntarily loſt it; if when I was ſure of my life, I rendered it again; if I might elſe-

where

where have ſold my Ship and Goods, and put five or ſix thouſand pounds in my Purſe, and yet brought her into *England*. I beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that all this I have done, becauſe it ſhould not be ſaid to your Majeſty, that your Majeſty had given liberty and truſt to a man, whoſe end was but the recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your Majeſties truſt.

My Mutiniers told me, that if I returned from *England*, I ſhould be undone, but I believed in your Majeſties goodneſs more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the firſt that being free and able to enrich my ſelf, yet hath embraced poverty and perill. And as ſure I am, that my example ſhall make me the laſt: but your Majeſties wiſdome and goodneſs I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and ſhall ever be

Your Majeſties

moſt humble Vaſſal

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to his Wife, after his Condemnation.*

YOu ſhall receive (my dear Wife) my laſt words in theſe my laſt Lines; my love I ſend you, that you may keep when I am dead, and my counſell, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will preſent you ſorrows (dear *Beſs*) let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the duſt. And ſeeing that it is not the will of God, that I ſhall ſee you any more, bear my deſtruction patiently, and with an heart like your ſelf.

Firſt I ſend you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words expreſs, for your many travels and cares for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wiſhed, yet my debt to you is not the leſs; but pay it I never ſhall in this world.

Secondly, I beſeech you, for the love you bare me living, that you do not hide your ſelf many days, but by your travells ſeek to help my miſerable Fortunes, and the right of your poor Child,

Child, your mourning cannot avail me that am but dust.

Thirdlly, you shall understand, that my Lands were conveyed (*bona fide*) to my Child, the writings were drawn at Midsummer was twelve moneths, as divers can witnesse, and I trust my bloud will quench their malice who desired my slaughter, that they will not seek also to kill you and yours with extream poverty. To what friend to direct you I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of trial. Most sorry am I, that being thus surprised by death, I can leave you no better Estate, God hath prevented all my determinations, that great God which worketh all in all, and if you can live free from want, care for no more, for the rest is but a vanity: Love God, and begin betimes, in him shall you find true, everlasting, and endlesse comfort, when you have travelled and wearied your self with all sort of worldly cogitations, you shall sit down by sorrow in the end. Teach your son also to serve and fear God whilest he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an Husband to you,

and

and a Father to him, an Husband and a Father, that can never be taken from you.

Baylie oweth me a thousand pounds, and *Aryan* six hundred; in *Iernesey* also I have much owing me. (Dear wife) I beseech you, for my Souls sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no doubt you shall be much sought unto; for the world thinks I was very rich; have a care to the fair ptetences of men, for no greatet miserie can befal you in this life, then to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak (God knows) not to disswade you from Marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Fathers sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and yours that I desired it: for know it, (my dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true man, who in his own respect despiseth Death and his mishapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much,

much, (God knows) how hardly I ſteal this time when all ſleep, and it is alſo time for me to ſeparate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied you, and either lay it in *Sherburn*, or in *Exeter* Church by my Father and Mother. I can ſay no more, Time and Death calleth me away. The everlaſting God, powerfull, infinite, and inſcrutable God Almighty, who is goodneſs it ſelf, the true Light and Life, keep you and yours, and have mercy upon me, and forgive my perſecutors and falſe accuſers, and ſend us to meet in his glorious Kingdome. My dear Wife farewell, bleſs my Boy, pray for me, and let my true God hold you both in his arms.

Yours that was, but

now not my own.

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleighs *Letter to Prince* Henry, *touching the model of a Ship.*

Moſt excellent Prince.

IF the Ship your Highneſs intends to build, be bigger than the *Victory*, then her beams, which are laid overthwart from ſide to ſide will not ſerve again, and many other of her Timbers and other ſtuff will not ſerve, whereas if ſhe be a ſize leſs, the Timber of the old Ship will ſerve well to the building of a new.

If ſhe be bigger, ſhe will be of leſs uſe, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge, our Channels decaying every year, leſs nimble, leſs mannyable, and ſeldome to be uſed, *Grande Navio grande fatica* ſaith the *Spaniard.*

A Ship of ſix hundred Tuns will carry as good Ordnance, as a Ship of twelve hundred Tuns, and where the greater hath double her Ordnance, the leſs will turn her broad ſide twice, before the great Ship can winde once,

once, and ſo no advantage in that overplus of Guns. The leſſer will go over clear, where the greater ſhall ſtick and periſh; the leſſer will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is ſlow, unmaniable, and ever full of encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, theſe things are chiefly required:

1. That ſhe be ſtrong built.
2. Swift in ſail.
3. Stout-ſided.
4. That her Ports be ſo laid, as that ſhe may carry out her Guns all weathers.
5. That ſhe hull and try well.
6. That ſhe ſtay well, when boarding, or turning on a wind is required.

To make her ſtrong, conſiſteth in the care and truth of the Workman; to make her ſwift, is to give her a large Run, or way forward, and ſo afterward, done by art and juſt proportion; and that in laying out of her bowes before, and quarters behind, the Shipwright be ſure, that ſhe neither ſink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Shipwrights do often fail, and then is the ſpeed in ſailing utterly ſpoiled.

That

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floar, and by sharing off from above waters to the lower edge of the Ports; which done, then will she carry out her Ordinance all weathers.

To make her to hull and to try well, which is called a good Sea ship, there are two things principally to be regarded; the one, that she have a good draught of water; the other, that she be not overcharged: And this is seldome done in the Kings Ships, and therefore we are forced to lye, or try in them with our main Course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak, she would perform.

The extream length of a Ship makes her unapt to lay, especially if she be floaty and want sharpness of way forward. And it is most true, that such over-long Ships are fitter for the narrow Seas in sumner, then for the Ocean, or long voyages: and therefore an hundred foot by the Keel, and thirty five foot broad is a good proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships sharp before, no having a long floar, will fall rough into the Sea from a billow, and

take in water over head and ears; and the same quality have all narrow quartered Ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of Ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extream Lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the Seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oft times overset. Safety is more to be respected than shews, or niceness for ease; in sea-journeys, both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Masters Cabbin. Our Masters and Mariners will say, that the Ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary Mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rolling and tumbling from side to side where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high Charging. Besides those high Cabbin-works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great Guns be four foot clear above water when all lading is in, or

else

else these best pieces are idle at sea: for if the Ports lie lower, and be open, it is dangerous; and by that default was a goodly Ship, and many gallant Gentlemen lost, in the dayes of *Henry* the Eight, before the Isle of *Wight*, in a Ship called by the name of *Mary-Rose*.

Sir *Walter Raleigh's*

PILGRIMAGE.

Give me my Scallop shell of Quiet,
My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
My Scrip of Joy, immortal Diet;
My Bottle of Salvation.
My Gown of Glory (Hopes true gage)
And thus I'le take my *Pilgrimage.*
Bloud must be my Bodies only Balmer,
No other Balm will there be given,
Whil'st my Soul, like a quiet Palmer,
Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven
Over the silver Mountains,
Where springs the Nectar Fountains.
There will I kiss the Bowl of Bliss,
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every Milken hill.
My Soul will be a drie before,
But after, it will thirst no more.
I'le take them first, to quench my thirst,
And taste of Nectars suckets,
At those clear Wells,
Where sweetness dwells,
Drawn up by Saints in Crystal Buckets.
Then by that happy blestfull day,
More peacefull Pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
And walk apparelled fresh like me,
And when our Bottles and all we
Ate fill'd with immortalitie.

Then

Then the bleſſed Parts wee'l travel;
Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravel,
Sealings of Diamonds, Saphire flowers;
High walls of Coral, & pearly Bowers.
From thence to Heavens bribeleſs Hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl,
No Conſcience molten into Gold,
No forg'd Accuſer bought or ſold,
No cauſe defer'd, no vain ſpent journy,
For there *Chriſt* is the Kings Attorny,
VVho pleads for all without degrees,
And he hath Angels, but no Fees:
And when the twelve grand million Iury
Of our ſins, with direful fury,
'Gainſt our Souls black Verdicts give,
Chriſt pleads his Death, & then we live.
Be thou my Speaker [taintleſs Pleader,
Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder.]
Thou wouldſt Salvation even for Alms,
Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
And this is mine eternal Plea
To him that made Heaven, Earth & Sea,
That ſince my fleſh muſt die ſo ſoon,
And want a Head to dine next noon,
Juſt at the ſtroak when my veins ſtart and ſpread,
Set on my Soul an everlaſting Head.
Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit (writ.
To tread thoſe bleſt Paths which before I
Of *Death* & *Judgement*, *Heaven* and *Hell*,
Who oft doth think muſt needs dy wel.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's VERSES

Found in his *Bible* in the *Gate house* at *Westminster*.

EVen such is time, which takes in trust
Our Youth, our Joys, & all we have,
And pays us nought but Age and Dust,
When in the dark and silent Grave:
When we have wandred all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days:
And from which grave & earth & dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

Sir W. RALEIGH

On the Snuff *of a* Candle *the Night before he died.*

Cowards fear to Dy, but courage stout,
Rather then live in snuff, wil be put out

Sir

Sir WALTER RALEIGH's SPEECH

Immediately before he was beheaded.

UPon *Simon* and *Iudes* day, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* had a Warrant to bring his Prisoner to the Kings Bench in *Westminster-hall*, where the Attorney General demanded Execution, according to the Iudgement pronounced against him at *Winchester*, the Lord Chief Iustice caused the Indictment, Verdict, and Iudgement to be read, and after asked him, what he could say, Why he should not die according to the Law: his answer was, That this fifteen years he had lived by the meer mercy of the King, and did now wonder how his mercy was turned into Iustice, he not knowing any thing wherein he had provoked his Majesties

ſties diſpleaſure, and did hope, that he was clear from that Judgement by the Kings Commiſſion in making him General of the Voyage to *Guiana*, for (as he conceived) the words, *To his truſty and well beloved Subject*, &c. did in themſelves imply a Pardon. But Maſter Attorney told him, theſe words were not ſufficient for that purpoſe. Whereupon he deſired the opinion of the Court, to which the Lord Chief Juſtice replyed, it was no Pardon in Law.

Then began Sir *Walter Raleigh* to make a long deſcription of the Events and Ends of his Voyage, but he was interrupted by the Chief Juſtice, who told him, that it was not for any Offence committed there, but for his firſt fact that he was now called in queſtion, and thereupon told him, That ſeeing he muſt prepare to die, he would not adde affliction to affliction, nor aggravate his fault, knowing him to be a man full of miſery, but with the good *Samaritane* adminiſter Oyl and Wine for the comfort of his diſtreſſed Soul. You have been a General, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that noble Captain, who thruſting himſelf in-

into the midst of a Battel, cryed aloud, *Mors me exspectat, & ego Mortem exspectabo*, as you should not contemn so to do, nor should you fear death; the one sheweth too much boldness, the other no less cowardice. So with some other few instructions the Court arose, and Sir *Walter* was committed into the hands of the Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who presently conveyed him to the Gate-house in *Westminster*.

Upon Thursday morning this Courageous, although Committed Knight, was brought before the Parliament-House, where there was a Scaffold erected for his Beheading: yet it was doubted over-night that he should be hanged, but it fell out otherwise. He had no sooner mounted the Scaffold, but with a chearfull Countenance, and undaunted Look, he saluted the Company. His attire was a wrought night-cap, a Ruff-band, a hair-coloured Sattin Doublet, with a black wrought Waste-coat under it, a pair of black cut Taffety Breeches, a pair of ash-coloured Silk Stockings, and a wrought black Velvet Night-gown; putting off his Hat, he directed his Speech to the Lords present, as followeth:

My

My Honourable Lords, and the reſt of my good Friends, that come to ſee mee die: Know, that I much rejoice that it hath pleaſed God to bring me from darkneſs to light, and in freeing me from the Tower, wherein I might have died in diſgrace, by letting me live to come to this place, where though I loſe my life, yet I ſhall clear ſome falſe accuſations, unjuſtly laid to my charge, and leave behinde me a Teſtimony of a true heart, both to my King and Countrey.

Two things Sir *W. Raleigh* is accuſed of.

Two things there are which have exceedingly poſſeſt and provoked his Majeſties indignation againſt me; viz. *A Confederacy, or Combination with* France, *and disloyal & diſobedient words of my Prince. For the firſt, his Majeſtie had ſome cauſe, though grounded upon a weak foundation, to ſuſpect mine inclination to the* French *Faction; for not long before my departure from* England, *the* French *Agent took occaſion, paſſing by my houſe, to viſit me, had ſome conference, during the time of his abode, onely concerning my Voyage, and nothing elſe, I take God to witneſs.*

Another ſuſpition is had of me, becauſe I did labour to make an eſcape from

Ply-

Plymouth to France, I cannot deny, but that willingly, when I heard a rumour, That there was no hope of my Life upon my return to London, I would have escaped for the safe-guard of my Life, and not for any ill intent or conspiracie against the State.

The like reason of suspition arose in that I perswaded Sir Lewis Steukly, my Guardian, to flee with me from London to France, but my answer to this is, as to the other, That onely for my safe-guard, and nought else was my intent, as I shall answer before the Almighty.

It is alledged, That I feigned my self sick, and by art made my body full of blisters when I was at Salisbury. True it is, I did so; the reason was, becaus I hoped thereby to defer my coming before the King and Council, and so by delaying, might have gained time to have got my Pardon. I have an example out of Scripture for my warrant, that in case of necessity, and for the safe-guard of his life, David feigned himself foolish and mad, yet it was not imputed to him for sin.

Concerning the second Imputation laid to my charge, that I should speak scandalous and reproachfull words of my Prince, there is no witness against me but onely one,

one, and he a Mimical French-*man, whom I entertained rather for his Ieſts then his Iudgement: this was to incroach himſelf into the favour of the Lords, and gaping after ſome great reward, hath falſly accuſed me of ſeditious ſpeeches againſt his Majeſty; againſt whom, if I did either ſpeak or think a thought hurtfull or prejudicial, the Lord blot me out of the book of Life.*

It is not a time to flatter or fear Princes, for I am a ſubject to none but Death, therefore have a charitable conceit of me. That I know to ſwear is an offence, to ſwear falſly at any time is a great ſin, but to ſwear falſe before the preſence of Almighty God, before whom I am forthwith to appear, were an offence unpardonable therefore think me not now raſhly or untroly to confirm, or proteſt any thing.

As for other objections, in that I was brought per force into England, *that I carried ſixteen thouſand pounds in money out of* England *with me, more then I made known; that I ſhould receive Letters from the* French *King*, and ſuch like, with many Proteſtations he utterly denied.

F I N I S.